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The main feature of the JOURNAL is represented by its short original articles. In each of these one or more important new ideas are thoroughly developed. In each the aim is to build up sound theory on the basis of concrete data. Each is designed to be read reflectively by busy thinkers and doers.

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Editorial Notes

THIS ISSUE of the JOURNAL contains eighteen more pages of material than the previous issue. The increased size makes possible the publication of more original articles in each issue as well as the addition of new departments and the enlargement of the departments already established.

GEORGE S. H. ROSSOUW, Ph. D., teacher of sociology in the Transvaal University College has joined the JOURNAL's staff of cooperating editors. From Dr. Rossouw our readers may soon expect material regarding some of the social problems and developments in his part of the world.

THE STRUGGLE for the protection of children in industry is not yet won. The twentieth amendment to the Constitution making possible Federal legislation in behalf of the child worker has been voted against by the Georgia legislature. Arkansas, however, has the honor of being the first state to ratify the proposed amendment.

THE INTRODUCTION of Social Work Notes in this number of the JOURNAL is a new departure. Social work and sociology are each beginning to realize their interdependence. The field of social work wherein one case after another, that is, one social situation after another, is taken up and wherein the main data are the personal experiences of human beings, is being recognized as one of the sociologist's best laboratories. In turn social workers are looking to the sociologist as the one best fitted to analyze carefully the meaning of the personal experiences of their clients.

THE OUTLAWRY of war movement is gaining ground. This movement is different from pacifism, for that term as ordinarily used refers to a person's decision, often calling for the highest courage, that as for him, he will take part in war under no circumstances. The outlawry of war program is a group movement; it is an attempt to get one's group, one's national group to cooperate with other national groups in declaring war an international crime. Two outlawry of war plans are before the world: one is a proposed treaty drawn up by an unofficial committee of Americans, including Dr. J. T. Shotwell, John Bates Clark, Henry S. Pritchett and others, and is being distributed by the League of Nations; the other is the Borah plan. Both would make war an international crime.

SOME RESEARCHES INTO RESEARCH

ALBION W. SMALL

University of Chicago

Editor, in General Charge, American Journal of Sociology

IN PLAIN ENGLISH, research, at its lowest terms, is merely trying to find out things. Whatever I may say more will be an expansion of the commonplace that there are innumerable varieties of research. From the most simple to the most subtle they have this one common trait, that they are attempts to find out things.

Without affecting precise classification, but using the handiest labels, I will cite a few samples.

There is first *Naïve Research*. All research at its best is only glorified childish curiosity, whether of the race or of the individual. How do things look, feel, smell, taste; how are things put together; what are things good for; who can lick whom? etc., etc. Such as these are the take-offs in the Marathon of science. They are of the same initial kind with the researches that lead to globe-circling through the air, to weighing the heavenly bodies, to discovering a new star or new dimensions of an old one. They are all alike attempts to pass from not-knowing to knowing.

There is second, *Socratic or Dialectical Research*. In this class belong all attempts to find out things outside the

NOTE: This was an informal address to the Society for Social Research, connected with the Department of Sociology in the University of Chicago. A long introduction has been omitted. In view of his approaching retirement, the speaker was strongly affected by the prospect that he would not again have a conference with an equal number of graduate students. His remarks were accordingly addressed to them, not to his colleagues in the Faculty, and were in the nature of paternal suggestions rather than didactic formulas. With the consent of the editors, the colloquial manner has been retained.—A. W. S.

mind by deriving them from relations traced between previously formed conceptions of things inside the mind. Whether we analyze the world in terms of our preconceived conception of "virtue," or whether we appraise manners and customs according to their treatment of our codes about claret or ice water, the process is essentially one — an attempt to establish eternal absolute by the test of home-made absolutes. Orientals and Occidentals, Germans, Frenchmen, Englishmen, Americans, each size up the other by the measure of previously adopted notions, each of himself and of the other. A friend of mine has recently been interviewing the high financiers of Paris and Berlin. He writes that in Berlin he hears from the bankers precisely the same charges against the French which he had just heard in Paris against the Germans. In each case, those charges will stand as finalities until Providence provides a different research method. Meanwhile, each nation will fail to understand the other. I have a delicious acquaintance, who affords me unfailing diversion, largely because he tells people behind my back that I have *no religion*. That is his inference from my telling him to his face that I have no use for his theology. He reminds me of returned missionaries whom in my childhood I used to hear reporting their adventures among people whom they described as having no religion! We know now that such reports were merely recitations of preconceptions which inhibited conversion of observed facts into knowledge.

There is, third, *Pedantic Research*, the expenditure of enviable ingenuity upon things that don't matter. Among the men whom I heard four or five times a week each, during my first semester in Berlin was Professor Zeller, reputed at that time to be the foremost historian of philosophy in Europe. His subject was *The Pre-Platonic Systems*. After I had learned enough of the language to know

what the lecturer was talking about, I found one Monday morning, that he had introduced the problem, When was Plato born? Hour after hour he unlimbered all the gear of archaeology, chronology, astronomy, philology, folk lore and heaven knows what not, to make a case for the date 429, or 428, or 430. After he had consumed the lecture hours of an entire week, he arrived at the conclusion — Nobody knows, and it wouldn't make any difference if they did! This was research after its sort, but it was a sort that falls short of infamy only by affording an awful example of the abuses that are permissible under a dignified name.

I mention, third, *Partisan Research*, a variety of the second species. Indeed there are only two families of research, the subjective and the objective: but the family likeness is not always the most ready finding mark.

Partisan research assumes some supposedly indisputable standard for measuring the conduct of the people concerned, and justifies or condemns them by that test alone.

The instance of partisan research that comes most frequently to my mind and serves to illustrate all the rest, is that of my former colleague Von Holst in writing his *Constitutional History of the United States*. Von Holst assumed the rôle of interpreter of Americans to themselves. He came from Germany into a political atmosphere which he did not understand, and he made the capital mistake, for a scholar, of adopting a partisan doctrine as key to the interpretation, instead of suspending judgment until he had made a demonstrative canvas of the facts.

In 1830 the issue which had been slurred over in 1789, in order to make any constitution at all possible for the former British colonies, was forcing its way towards a decision. It was the question whether the American states were many or one, or if both many and one, whether fi-

nally and decisively many or one. Opinions upon this matter at the outset were not divided along the lines of parallels of latitude, but events were tending to align the northern states in support of the union idea, and the southern states in assertion of state sovereignty. The text-book on *American Constitutional Law* that I studied in college elaborated the proposition that the Declaration of Independence *created a sovereignty* over the thirteen colonies previously subject to the sovereignty of England. The first piece of research that I ever undertook was the task of investigating the records of the colonial and continental congresses in 1775 and 1776, together with the records of the constitutional conventions from 1787 to 1789, to see whether that version of American sovereignty had historical support. Incidentally I discovered that there was not a trace in Von Holst's volumes of any such appeal to the records. In the preliminary skirmish in 1830, Senator Hayne of South Carolina maintained the states-rights view, and Daniel Webster of Massachusetts, in a speech which became famous, crystallized the doctrine of national sovereignty. Although I had been taught the Websterian doctrine along with the Lord's Prayer and the Ten Commandments, my studies into the documents showed me that neither Hayne nor Webster had given a completely objective account of the facts; but that as a statement of occurrences Hayne's version was much nearer the reality than Webster's. The latter formulated the north's partisanship for effective mobilization in the Civil War, but it was a historical fiction. The point of the illustration is that, instead of conducting the necessary process of research, Von Holst waived all that, treated the pertinent historical evidence as negligible; swallowed the Websterian doctrine without testing its credentials; and made a series of volumes which purported to be history, but which

merely peddled the Websterian partisanship, which branded every attitude and act of the south in accordance with its view as treason, and which glorified every act of the north in accordance with its view as patriotism.

In reality, from 1775 to the close of the Civil War we were slowly evolving a nationality which had been meanwhile merely an unlegitimized vision of a portion of our people. From 1830 to the reconstruction period our political reasoning, particularly in the north, if it could be called research at all, was mostly snap-judgment research, which got its force not from facts but from reiteration. Such facts as it did assemble were marked in advance for a death sentence or a halo. This pseudo-research not merely beclouded and distorted the past, but it added insult to injury by reciprocal misrepresentation.

A fifth type of attempt to find out things, I will call *Pickwickian* or *Curio-hunting Research*. From the beginning, it has occupied the time of more so-called historians than any other. It is the sort of historical puttering that is like nothing so much as the proverbial hen clucking over her one chicken. It is historical rag picking, fussing around after finds that mean nothing. Local histories are mostly composed of nothing else than this flotsam and jetsam — whether Washington took command of the Continental Army under this particular elm in Cambridge or that particular elm, or some other kind of tree, or no tree at all; whether Lafayette was entertained in this house, or that, or none now standing; whether Benedict Arnold camped on the right or the left bank of the Kennebec at a particular halt in his Quebec expedition; whether the president of the southern confederacy died on a plantation or in New Orleans, etc., etc. Most researches into genealogy are of this type. Possibly they may show that such and such a person is eligible for membership in

the Daughters of the American Revolution, or the Colonial Dames, or the Society of the Cincinnati; but beyond such catering to private and petty sentiment they are worthless.

I should not have expanded these illustrations at such length, if it were not for the fact that I have reviewed very few pieces of research in my life which were not vitiated in some degree by the worm-eatings of one or more of these spurious types of research. A part of the necessary equipment of a scholar is ability to detect these perversions in others and to check them in himself.

I shorten the possible list and pass, sixth, to the first genuine type of research that I will mention, namely, the kind of *Practice Research* that leads to a respectable Doctor's Dissertation.

The essentials of genuine practice research are, first, *a problem*, something not known, to be found out; second, *a method, a technique*, a means adequate to the end, a procedure which appears to be a feasible way of arriving at the something not previously known.

Probably no type of research has provoked more ridicule than the practice type, since Johns Hopkins imported it as an academic institution from Germany in 1876. Nobody competent to understand the meaning and the value of the institution has ever ridiculed it, except in his lighter moments when he allows himself to toy with things sacred.

The graduate student's practice research as a condition of promotion to the Doctor's degree, need not necessarily propose the most exigent problem within that part of the field of knowledge to which he is devoted. It need not necessarily ask and try to answer a question of the first importance. The main thing is that the researcher shall apply means adapted to the end and adequate to the end. The experience of gripping the appropriate tools, and of turning out a workmanlike job, is both an evidence of good

faith and a promise of more important work after the apprentice period is closed.

I have thus referred to five types of research which should be left as soon as possible among cast-off childish things, and to a single type of real research which still necessarily exhibits more academic limitations than may be allowed to cling around research of the highest rank. I will not try to indicate the countless types of research that recur between this first grade in the scale of genuine scientific research and the highest grade that may be reached. What I have been pointing out in all that I have said is the commonplace that there are innumerable varieties of research. Research differs from research as one star differs from another star in glory. While I am in the paraphrasing mood, I may as well add another adaptation of apostolic idiom, viz:—one genuine type of research may not say to a less esteemed type of research, I have no need of thee. Those kinds of research which seem to be more feeble are necessary. Wherefore look to it that they receive their due share of honor.

I simply remind you that the ideal of science is the kind of research which aims to shed light upon permanent or recurrent aspects of reality; or within the social field, research which tries to find out things that have long leases of influence upon human relations.

If I may trust my own impressions — in the absence of precise statistics — the largest number of genuine research sociologists today are at work upon problems of the *survey* type. Next in number come the *social-psychologists*. Then, among the also-rans, are the few, among whom I belong, the methodologists or general sociologists.

Although the general sociologists at present affect the majority as archaeological specimens, in comparison with the up-to-date social surveyors and social psychologists,

yet the general theorists will be necessary, and I have no doubt will continue to be necessary, although in relatively small numbers. I will not put up a defense or apology for them, nor try to make it appear that they are the kind of shock troops most needed in the present state of the campaign. I know they are not, but I believe they still have an indispensable function.

I will remind you, further, that at its best research is an abortion, even if it actually finds out things, unless it links itself up with a technique and a philosophy which put the discovered things together so that they will yield the most meaning.

I do not know who first made the familiar remark that "there is nothing so misleading as a fact." This truism has given Professor Park one of his favorite subjects for discourse and analysis, viz:—What is a fact?

As a single illustration of the ambiguity of an occurrence supposed to be a fact, I take a pending instance. When Hiram Johnson's candidacy for the presidential nomination was announced, it was stated that former Postmaster General Frank Hitchcock, one of the most stalwart of the stalwarts in the national Republican organization, was to manage the Johnson campaign. Nothing could be much more definite, precise, positive and concrete — Hitchcock is the Johnson campaign manager. That is supposed to be a fact, but is it, or is it only a protruding angle of a fact, the whole of which does not appear? Apparently some more of the fact is that there is a break in the Republican ranks. One of the leaders is backing a man who is running contrary to most of the leaders' wishes.

I have no inside information about the case, but from the first announcement I have made a very confident theory or guess, to this effect: The fact is that there is no break in the Republican organization — at least not along

the supposed line. Hitchcock is not a rebel. He is not backing Johnson to win. Johnson is not even running. Whether he knew it himself before the delegates were chosen, my theory does not attempt to decide. My guess is that Hitchcock is using Johnson as a decoy to lead somebody else out of the running, and Hitchcock is serving his party instead of fighting it.

Whether my guess is correct or not is non-essential to my argument. The matter in hand is that, even in the case of what seems to be a most unequivocal social fact, there is always plenty of room to apply a technique of interpretation which may connect the particular item with all its relations, and give it a significance precisely contrary to its ostensible meaning.

The lawyers have a saying, apropos of the Ranke type of historical credulity, that "there is nothing so misleading as a document." I fancy, for example, that until the German war is forgotten, Wilson's "fourteen points" will rank as an outstanding confirmation of that saying. So long as historians discuss twentieth century events, they will rack their brains, and arrive at divided opinions, over the apparently obvious, viz:—What in the devil did the "fourteen points" mean anyway in relation to the entire diplomatic game behind the scenes?

These two types of situations connect up with my reminder a moment ago that my type of sociologist — which I frankly and resignedly admit is now in the reserve, not on the main front of the fighting line — must always have a certain function, and therefore a certain value, whatever may be the type of research which is foremost in a given period.

DEMOCRACY IN SOCIAL WORK

EDWARD T. DEVINE

New York City

Do SOCIAL WORKERS want democracy in social work? Are we interested in the socializing of our own institutions? As we appear in support of the social process in the churches, in industry, in government, in education, and everywhere else, do we bring with us a record of equal zeal for removing the autocracies, the privileges, the domination of particular groups in our own fields?

Evidences of the lack of democracy — which, for the purposes of the present brief discussion, we may identify with the lack of socialization — are all too common. Boards of directors are still made up mainly of the more prosperous and socially prominent individuals, few of whom are in a position to understand, much less to represent, the ideas and influences which are shaping the new world in ways that are not in the least to their liking. Private agencies are naturally supported financially mainly by the well-to-do; and the power of the purse is as potent as ever. Social workers are still looked upon as employees rather than as professional experts. It is not difficult to find charitable societies in which the executive secretary is not expected to attend board meetings or to discuss important questions of policy on equal terms with the directors. What is perhaps of even more significance, social workers themselves still find it difficult to take the views of their "clients" seriously, except as a part of their problem — as something to be changed by subtle and indirect methods, rather than to be respected as a contribution to the solution of the problem.

Further evidence of the lack of integration in the social work of our cities — to say nothing of the villages and the open country — is to be found in the lack of understanding, of cooperation, even of sympathy among the agencies of the communities. One keen observer who is doing as much as anyone to bring this anomalous condition to an end, says roundly that the philanthropic community does not yet exist.

Now it does not so much matter what the present exact situation is in these respects, although it is always advisable to know where we are starting from, when we are keen to get on. The big question is whether we are moving, and at what rate, and in what direction.

When we raise these questions we find several reasons for encouragement, from the point of view of democratic socialization of social work.

First and most encouraging of all, is the present lively interest in the establishment of definite standards. The working out and acceptance of objective standards frees social work from arbitrary external control. As a larger and larger number of trained social workers become familiar with tested and successful methods of diagnosis and treatment, with the kinds of records which will enable the workers and others to know whether results have or have not been accomplished, and with the technical literature of social work, the domain within which authority may be exercised and policy determined by those who have no standing except what is obtained by wealth, social prestige, and tradition is steadily circumscribed. Bad traditions — and most traditions are bad — cannot well survive when there is a constant and eager searching out of the best ways of doing certain things, a constant comparison of methods and results. Group thinking is the very essence of the social process, the cradle of democracy.

The American Association of Social Workers has a unique opportunity, which it appears to be utilizing, both at national headquarters and in the local chapters, to promote this particular approach to democracy. There are of course other excellent arguments for the creation of standing committees on standards. Perhaps it is the natural aristocrats of social work who will be the most alert to encourage this tendency. No matter. Democracy has need of aristocrats also. Freedom to do the best that any one has discovered without arbitrary interference is the essential condition of democratic progress. The formulation of standards is an immense aid to this freedom, a formidable antiseptic to sectarians, provincialism, traditionalism, and despotic dictation.

A second favorable condition for the increase of democracy is to be found in the community chest or welfare federation. No doubt many social workers anticipated the contrary; and no doubt social workers in some cities have seen justification for the fears of the prophets. There are instances of big stick domination by chambers of commerce; intolerance by chest directors and budget committees. These instances are however exceptional and not typical. It is only fair to say that the business men and other leading citizens who have taken the burden of organizing the financial campaigns and apportioning the funds raised among the agencies have shown a praiseworthy modesty; and that they have often been more ready to take advice from the social workers than the latter have been to give really useful counsel. Even however if it were not otherwise, even if the representatives of big business were as determined to exercise control of the social agencies as apprehensive social workers have feared, it remains true that federation gives the social workers their opportunity to resist and to assist successfully such attempts.

Federation means discussion and comparison. It means that common judgments are brought to bear; and this makes for democracy even if the judgments are at first crude and based in part on irrelevant kinds of evidence. Questions are raised which never have been raised before and they have to be answered. Those who believe in the value of open discussion, who are willing to have questions raised, and who are willing to put to the test their ability to justify their ideas to plain people of good will, find their opportunity in this still experimental and still tentative movement for community organization through the joint financing of social agencies.

The movement is not necessarily democratic. Whether it is so or not depends to a large extent on the social workers. If it is inspired by a genuine community spirit; if it is only one aspect among many of a growing habit of community thinking and community planning; if the underlying idea is not to save money to large contributors but to get the social work done, the social needs discovered and met, then it offers an extraordinary opportunity for just that integration of social effort, that establishment of objective standards, that substitution of sound principles for routine and traditional methods, which all social workers who believe in the democratization of their own field of human effort must desire. This inspiration, this habit, and this underlying idea, are present or absent according as social workers have or have not been attending to their educational work.

The head of one of the great national associations who was questioned as to whether a more democratic program might not be advisable replied that he was in favor of making his organization thoroughly democratic *in its financial support*. Unless he was ready to go further, he was somewhat rash in this concession. Widespread financial sup-

port tends certainly to undermine narrow and irresponsible control. Aside therefore from the federation features of the community chests — the favorable reactions of thinking and planning in terms of the whole neighborhood,— the mere increase in the number of contributors — say an increase from ten to twenty per cent of the adult population — almost invariably carries with it a more democratic spirit in the management of the agencies thus widely supported.

The final test of the democratic attitude is a readiness to deal frankly with the people who need assistance; to explain to them as much as they can understand of the technique of investigation and treatment; to consult with them, not as inferiors or as objects of social work, but as human beings whose preferences, opinions, and previous experiences are entitled to respectful consideration. Fortunately one policy on which for other reasons social work has laid emphasis has the effect of encouraging this more democratic attitude. The social worker learns that he must do different things for different people; that the definite plan to be made as early in each case as possible must be made in consultation with the individual or family for whose benefit the plan is made. It becomes, therefore, largely a question of degree as to how far this consultation shall be carried; how much weight shall be given to the ideas of the beneficiary; and in what spirit it shall be conducted. The Social Unit experiment in the Mohawk-Brighton district of Cincinnati undertook to secure the approval of official representatives of the whole neighborhood both for the general plan of operations and for the budget before inviting requests for particular kinds of social service. The plan was too short lived to permit of any judgment of its practicability; but the idea is likely to reappear in one form or another until it is demonstrated that plans

made for neighborhoods for such needs as are likely to arise among them are more apt to be soundly conceived than those which are made from the outside by the most benevolently disposed. Agents of Child Welfare Boards (Mothers' Pensions) have called together the mothers to whom they are giving regular allowances for discussion of their common problems; and other sporadic instances of similar democratic procedure could be cited. The query has even been raised whether the entire expense of several kinds of social work could not be met by those who benefit from them rather than by gifts from well-to-do people whose interest may be slight and may be the result of a misleading emotional appeal. There is already in fact considerable experience to warrant an affirmative answer to this question. Perhaps even "dependent families in their homes" could eventually pay for the social service which they require if the terms are made easy — and if rehabilitation really takes place.



WARFARE is not coeval with civilization; it took its intense form at quite a late stage of development; it is, in a way, a by-product of social evolution. Perry, *The Growth of Civilization*, p. 133.

INDEED it may be said that sociology has become the first attempt to organize a technique for scientific interpretation of human experience upon the basis of the group hypothesis in contrast with the individual hypothesis. Small, *Origins of Sociology*, p. 346.

IF WE have radicalism let us not decry its menace, but let us understand and remove the causes which produce radicalism. If unscrupulous politicians despoil our country, let us remember that there must be some defects in a system which encourages so many people to be mere politicians and deters patriots from taking part in government. Bowden, *The Evolution of the Politician*, p. 3.

EXPERIENCE AND RACE RELATIONS

Opinion, Attitudes, and Experience as Types of Human Behavior

ROBERT E. PARK

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EXPERIENCE DEFINED

IN THE STUDY of race relations, we are concerned with more than the formal facts. We are concerned with experiences and with the personal reactions of individuals and races.

It is not sufficient to know what happened; we want to know how the transaction looked through the eyes of individuals seeing it from opposing points of view. If there were not racial points of view there would be no race problems.

What is experience? How shall we distinguish experience from other forms of knowledge? The same experiences may be data for both the historian and the sociologist, but these different sciences deal with these data differently. How differently and why?

Experience, in the limited sense in which we ordinarily use that term, as distinguished from other forms of knowledge, is concrete, personal, and unique. To say that it is personal is merely to say that it is the result of action rather than reflection. We may describe experience, from this point of view, as James Harvey Robinson has described history, as "the reaction of man's instincts and traditions to new conditions."¹

¹ See *Saturday Review of Literature*, August 9, 1924, "These Eventful Years," James Harvey Robinson.

To say on the other hand that experience is unique is merely to say that experiences do not repeat themselves. We sometimes say that we had today the same experience that we did yesterday or a week before. This, however, is never quite accurate. We never have the same experience twice. An experience is like an historical fact; it always has a date and a location and it happens only once. Ideas on the other hand, as Plato first of all observed, are timeless and not located.

Experience is not fact, not even historical fact. It is merely A's or B's personal reaction to, and interpretation of, an event. Until A's experience has been checked up with B's and with C's experiences of the same event we would not call it an historical fact.

WHERE HISTORY AND SOCIOLOGY PART

This is, however, just the point of view at which the historian and the sociologist part company. The historian is quite as interested in the experiences of individuals, and groups of individuals, as is the sociologist, but for a somewhat different reason. The historian wants to know what actually happened. His material is, to be sure, the *naïve* narratives of the persons participating in the transaction. Out of this mass of circumstance he seeks to disentangle and interpret the actual transaction.

The sociologist is not primarily concerned with the event itself. He rather takes that for granted. What he is more particularly concerned about are the attitudes of the persons involved, as they are reflected in their very differing accounts of the same historical event. He is interested in anything, in fact, that will throw light upon these attitudes and make them intelligible. It is just this difference in the points of view of the different groups, — racial and

political, — that he seeks to discover and record. It is not the event but the attitude — the individual or the group mind — that the sociologist, as distinguished from the historian, is seeking to describe and explain.

For that reason, any expression of those different points of view, whether it pretends to be fact or not, just so long as it fairly reflects the sentiments and attitudes, is interesting and important.

MYTH AND LEGEND AS SOCIOLOGICAL DATA

Much that the historian might characterize as myth and legend; much that is pure poetry, even gossip, so far as it reflects the dominant attitude of the races and parties involved, may furnish material for the student of race relations — may, in fact, furnish material for the student of society. What is society, finally, but just this whole vast complex of human relations in which parties, races, and nations are involved?

The value of "experiences" to the sociologist is then that they are the sources, not the only, but perhaps the best, from which the student can gain a knowledge and an understanding of the attitudes of strange and unassimilated peoples.

Attitudes, however, are not opinions. An individual's own account of his attitude is his opinion; but opinions are after all largely what the psycho-analysisists call a "rationalization." They are his explanations and justifications of his attitudes, rather than his actual "tendencies to act."

It is certain, at least, that every man's opinion becomes more intelligible if we know the particular circumstances under which it was conceived; particularly if we knew also, the circumstances that have reaffirmed and intensified it. It is for this reason that, in studying opinions, we seek to

go back to the point of genesis, seek to define the concrete circumstances under which opinions took form, and the motives which inspired them. Knowing these things we may say we not only *know* an opinion but we *understand* it. An opinion becomes intelligible in one sense at least, not when we approve of it, but when, knowing the *circumstances*, we are able to appreciate the motives that inspired it.

WHAT IS MEANT BY MAKING OPINIONS

To make an opinion intelligible in the sense here indicated is to discover and describe the concrete experiences in which it is imbedded. There is always some sort of complex behind every motor tendency, every motor tendency that is not a mere reflex.

To make an attitude intelligible it is necessary to study its natural history; to reproduce the circumstances under which it arose so completely that the observer can enter imaginatively into the situation and the experience of which the attitude is a part. This, at any rate, is the first step.

Reproducing an experience in such a way that it can be made an object of observation involves what Ellwood calls "sympathetic introspection." Let us see how this reproduction, and the subsequent *interpretation* and *explanation*, actually take place. The experience *contains*, so to speak, both the event and the attitude. As students of race-relations we are not concerned primarily with the event. The event is what actually happened.

What actually happened is a matter for historical investigation. What the student of race-relations wants to know is: (1) the social situation, (2) the individual's reaction in that situation, as reflected in his experience.

What is a social situation? Well, it is always something more general than an historical situation. I may begin a narrative by saying: "I once had the experience of an earthquake in Java." The social situation here is defined by "earthquake," not by the fact that it was in Java, although the fact that it took place in Java may be found later to introduce some important modification in the situation that it is necessary to take account of. However, in general this is an "earthquake situation" and I go on to tell how I felt and acted in that situation.

Some one else relates a similar experience. The two experiences are different but they have points of comparison. The student of human nature is interested in this comparison, in the similarities and in the differences. He gathers from a comparison of these experiences something about the way people in general behave in earthquakes.

Here again the sociologist parts company with the historian. The historian is interested in these generalizations about human nature in so far as they enable him to determine just what actually happened in a given place and at a given date. The historian *interprets* the experience. The sociologist is interested in the particular experience only so far as it enables him to say something about human nature in general, irrespective of any particular time or place. The sociologist classifies the experience and so *explains* it. Let us return for a moment to our earthquake in Java.

If the experiences in the earthquake are peculiar and quite foreign to ordinary experiences, the student may want to gather a number of cases to see how true to type the individual cases are. Having found the type, he is interested mainly in the variations from it. The question he asks is: Taking account of the variations in the situation, how far can they be reduced to certain general types?

The procedure here is just the same as in any of the

natural and explanatory sciences. We explain things by putting them under some general category, classifying them, in short, and then discovering where we can, the reason for the deviation from type.

Of course, the situation cannot always be defined so simply and so explicitly as we have sought to do here. It might be described, for example, as "earthquake plus fire, general terror, and crowd excitement." The crowd excitement might have so intensified the reaction as to almost totally change it.

Most of the experiences of the alien and oriental population will fall under certain general and familiar categories, there will be certain modifications that need to be explained by further observation and analysis. The presumption is that they will be explained by differences in the situation. These differences may be (1) the physical appearance of the Oriental, (2) his traditions, (3) minor changes in the situation defined by time, place, and circumstance.

TYPICAL EXPERIENCES

The general assumption is that experiences are likely to be more intelligible than opinions, which are the inferences we draw from them. If we are able to reproduce the experience we will be able to appreciate the motives and share the feelings that entered in to them. Ordinarily the behavior of another individual becomes intelligible as soon as we are able to reproduce all the circumstances, including perhaps the previous history of the individual involved.

Ordinarily explanation of an experience does not mean more than such an imaginative reproduction of it. If the thing is still strange, if it is still unintelligible, we need more details and we ask further questions. If, however,

we can bring ourselves to feel how, under the circumstances, we might have behaved the same way: as soon, in short, as we can reduce this new and strange experience to some pattern that we are familiar with, it becomes intelligible.

The fact is, however, that as soon as we are able imaginatively to reproduce an experience, we have already classified it. Our general class or category, under which the particular experience is subsumed, may be explicitly stated, may in fact be quite below the level of clear consciousness — still it is there and functions as a category.

When the class or general pattern under which the particular experience is subsumed is explicitly stated, we have an explanation of the experience in the more formal sense of that word.

We may re-state the matter this way: We explain opinions when we refer them to the attitudes of which they are a rationalization. We make attitudes intelligible when we are able to reproduce the experiences, in which they are imbedded. We explain experiences as we are able to reduce them to general types — types of human behavior — where behavior includes not merely the external act but the feelings ordinarily associated with it.



CIVILIZATION is not a stable product; it is subject to periodic convulsions, such as we have lately experienced; and one of the most serious tasks of society is to determine the causes that produce these convulsions. Perry, *The Growth of Civilization*, p. 133.

NO ONE has ever made more than a slight step forward in knowledge at one time. Every important discovery or invention, has usually been the work of many men, the one who gets the credit being he who added the last link to the chain. Perry, *The Growth of Civilization*, p. 34.

THE MIND OF PRIMITIVE MAN IN WEST AFRICA

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MY APPOINTMENT to the administration of the lands and surveys of Nigeria gave me an excellent opportunity of studying the races and tribes in that colony. Yoruba is by far the most important race and language in the coastal districts of Nigeria. The lowest branches of this race with which I have come in contact are to be found on the delta of the Niger. The greatest part of this area is submerged at high tide. The huts are built on staddles, and at high tide the sheep, goats, pigs, etc., walk up the ramp and share the honors of the household. These amphibians appeared to be quite the finest physical types that I had met in West Africa. I suppose this may be regarded as an evidence of the "survival of the fittest." It is certainly the most unsavory and unhealthful slough that I have ever been in. The natives here appear to be able to drink quite brackish water. Cannibalism still exists in these parts and that within a few miles of British stations that have been in existence for more than half a century.

Let me give one instance of my experience with natives from this delta. I had arranged to make an extended tour of Nigeria with the object of fixing astronomically a considerable number of important positions. On arriving at a certain town on the Niger and finding the weather favorable, I gave instructions to pitch camp and prepare for observations. In order that I might "push on" as soon as

the observations were completed, I sent a formal request to "The Resident" to be supplied with twenty or thirty carriers to transport my equipment. I was supplied with twenty or thirty carriers of quite the lowest type that I have ever seen. When a few miles on the road towards the next station one or two of these carriers threw down their load and vanished into the jungle. Fortunately I had anticipated the possibility of trouble and had brought sufficient reliable carriers with me from Lagos to "push through" with the important part of my equipment "on a pinch." I immediately called a halt, released most of my Lagos carriers of their load and armed them with substantial clubs, giving them instructions to knock down every carrier who tried to escape. I then "double banked" the Niger carriers with the loads of my Lagos men and started en route again. The Lagos men being raised to the dignity of policemen soon taught their Niger kinsmen that any attempt to escape would very likely result in a fractured skull, so we "pushed on" until they were exhausted. At night I rounded them up into a group, put on sentries and had their food given them, I am afraid, in a very ceremonious manner. This course was adopted for only a day or two, for when they came among tribes that were quite strangers to them I had difficulty in keeping them out of my tent. Sometimes, when they heard strange noises, especially at night, they would actually run into my tent, just as dogs will frequently run into the house during an earthquake. A few months previous to our arrival an English resident had been killed and eaten on the route that we were passing along. They may have heard of this. If so, it would fully account for their extreme uneasiness. I must confess it kept me well upon the alert.

As I had ample opportunity, I tried to study the mentality of these men, but I failed almost completely. Their

attitude of mind appeared to resemble closely that of, say, a dog that had been taken away from its home. At first, anxious to run home, then more or less apathetic, and finally fairly happy and contented. I learned from the interpreter that their vocabulary did not exceed 400 words, but they have a marvelous faculty of "ringing the changes" by inflection. Their ear is so much keener than ours that they are able to distinguish sounds that we could not hear at all. So much do they rely on the ear that they pay little or no attention to context. For instance: the words signifying canoe and hill would sound exactly the same to our ear. If you said "bring me a canoe" and they interpreted the sound as meaning hill, they would look at you in astonishment and probably think that you were mad.

Now let us consider the higher branches of the Yoruba race. I am of the opinion that their brains are equal to ours, or at any rate, equal to mine. Let me mention one in particular — Henry Carr, M. A., B. C. L., etc. If you turn to the key to Locke's trigonometry you will find that it was written by Henry Carr, of Lagos. If he did not write it before he was twenty he must have done so very shortly after. I know him very well indeed; it was a pleasure to hear him discuss the intricacies of calculus. I had in my department a dozen or so of young Yorubas, nearly all of whom were educated in Lagos, by native teachers. I established a sort of survey school and taught them the elements of plane and spherical trigonometry, also practical astronomy, including the determination of latitude, azimuth and time. The majority of them soon became remarkably proficient in these subjects and in a year, I should say, were able to make the necessary observations. When making observations for azimuth, it is desirable to observe the star when the three functions — co-altitude, co-latitude, and co-declination form a spherical triangle

that is fairly symmetrical. Considerable preliminary calculation is obviated if one can visualize in the heavens those stars that will form such a triangle at a suitable time. A few of the young Yoruba surveyors became exceptionally smart in selecting suitable stars and were of great assistance in this class of work; also in working out the astronomical calculations they were equally proficient. Their memory is so excellent that after having "called out" a seven figure logarithm which was common to a series of calculations they seemed to have no difficulty in remembering it, at any rate, for several hours — indeed I believe for a much longer period. At first, I doubted their memory and made them look up the logarithms, but I soon found that such precaution was unnecessary.

Their ear is of a refinement that is quite beyond my conception. When naming rivers, etc., I used to get a reliable local native to pronounce the name. Three native clerks wrote it down. I think I am correct in stating that fully ninety per cent of these words agreed exactly in the spelling by the three native clerks.

On the other hand, let me illustrate by a single case the persistence of folk beliefs. A friend of mine while out shooting, surprised a native solicitor in the act of sacrificing a bull. This man was, I believe, a graduate of one of the English universities. He had to appear before the local court to show cause why he should not be struck off the roll. He informed my friend that although he was a Christian he felt compelled when in great trouble to return to the religion of his fathers. This cult, like so many others, is chiefly that of the appeasement of evil spirits and this native still had it in the back of his head.

The sociologists affirm that education, culture, and studious habits are an evolution of centuries. In all probability many of the fathers of the educated natives whom I

have encountered and mentioned above were uneducated; possibly some of their grandfathers were even cannibals. In the great majority of cases their environment and home training could not have been much above that of an ordinary native village, and I am afraid that the European influence in many instances was not very elevating. What, then, was the urge that stimulated them to deviate so widely from the general attitude of their group? It is my opinion that these natives had an innate mental aptitude for assimilating knowledge and were fortunate in having men about them, young Europeans with ability and inclination to create an atmosphere of intellectual leadership, so that native intelligence could be directed into proper channels.

My observations and experiences do not permit me to accept the prevalent idea that human nature is constant, that it may take on a veneer, but never changes. No evolutionist could hold such a theory. I am of the opinion that human nature has changed, perhaps not permanently, but certainly measurably.

Apparently then, and this is the conclusion of my whole scattered discussion, native ability is pretty widely distributed and does not follow distinctly class or race lines. No one race or social group has a monopoly upon it. We, least of all should boast, for who were our much vaunted Norman ancestors but a greasy gang of filibustering mongrels from Scandinavia?



IN THE first place, it is the duty of statesmanship to control social and economic institutions in such a way that the fact of survival becomes increasingly a proof of the possession of really desirable qualities. Brown, *The Underlying Principles of Modern Legislation*, p. 311.

DURKHEIM'S EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY

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WHILE THE CENTRAL IDEA of the book being considered here¹ will be familiar to students of Lester F. Ward, and of those American ethnologists who are developing the culture concept as a key to social life and education in particular, its value for the general reader in both sociology and education is so great that its publication in English, preferably as part of one of our educational hand-book series, would constitute a real contribution to the literature of the social sciences. It would be especially useful as a means of bringing many teachers to a clearer realization of the fact that their profession rests upon sociological premises fully as much as it does upon psychological, to say the least.

M. Durkheim is preeminently qualified to show the relation between education and sociology, for several reasons. Thus M. Paul Fauconnet, of the Sorbonne, contributes an introduction on "The Pedagogical Work of Durkheim," in which he says: "Durkheim taught pedagogy all his life, just as he taught sociology. In the faculty of letters at Bordeaux, from 1887 to 1902, he always gave weekly, an hour of the course to pedagogy. His auditors were chiefly students of primary education (*membres de l'Enseignement primaire*). At the Sorbonne, it was in the chair of the *Science of Education* that he substituted in 1902, and in 1906 succeeded M. Ferdinand Buisson. To

¹ *Education et Sociologie*. Par Emile Durkheim, Professeur à la Sorbonne. Librairie Félix Alcan, Paris, 1922, pp. 159. Bibliothèque de Philosophie Contemporaine.

the time of his death, he reserved for pedagogy a third at least, and often two-thirds, of his instruction: public courses, conferences for the members of the primary division (*Enseignement*), courses for the students of the Superior Normal School."

While Durkheim reminds one of Ward in his clear explanation of the doctrine of education as the transmission of the social heritage to the rising generation, he goes beyond him in one important respect. Whereas Ward was prone to express education in terms of the *impartation of knowledge*, Durkheim states it in words which amount to the *inculcation of social attitudes*, although he does not employ that phrase, now so much used in the United States. M. Durkheim finds "in each one of us, so to say, two beings. . . . The one is made of all those mental states which relate to ourselves and to the events of our personal life; it is that which we call the individual being. The other is a system of ideas, of sentiments, and habits, which express in us, not our own personality, but the group or the different groups of which we form a part, such as our religious beliefs, moral beliefs and practices, national or professional traditions, collective opinions of all sorts. Their *ensemble* forms the social being. To constitute that being in each one of us is the end of education." In the language of our current sociology, this is to say that the object of education is to create social attitudes.

Durkheim reviews the tendency of earlier writers to postulate "an ideal education, perfect, which holds for all men without distinction." He finds, on the contrary, that "Education has infinitely varied according to the time and the country." "As for the customs and the ideas which determine the type (of education), it is not we, individually, who have made them. They are the product of the common life and they express its needs. . . . All the past

of humanity has contributed to make up that *ensemble* of maxims which guides the education of today."

Approaching the definition of education by this historical examination of systems of instruction as they have actually existed, M. Durkheim arrives at the following formula:

"Education is the action exerted by adult generations on those who are not yet ripe for social life. It has for its object to arouse and to develop in the child a certain number of physical, intellectual, and moral states which the political society in its entirety, and the special surroundings (milieu) to which he is particularly destined demand from him."

Education, in this sense, has a "creative virtue" peculiarly human. "Altogether different is that which the animals receive, if one may call by that name the progressive training to which they are submitted on the part of their parents." Human beings have plastic organic dispositions on which are developed social aptitudes of every sort. These are necessary to a complex social life and cannot be transmitted by heredity in the ordinary sense. "It is by education that the transmission is made."

With respect to the organization of education, M. Durkheim holds that "Since education is a function essentially social, the State cannot remain disinterested. On the contrary, all that is education ought to be, in some measure, submitted to its action." The State he holds to be the only competent judge concerning a certain number of principles, "at the basis of our civilization," which "are common to all." These should form the underlying foundation of all education, no matter how specialized, and it is the prerogative of the State to see that they are not neglected. In imbuing the youth with these ideas and sentiments, there come into play, Durkheim admits, two proc-

esses analogous to those accompanying hypnotism. The one is that "The child is naturally in a passive" and suggestive state. The other is that "The ascendancy which the teacher naturally has over his pupil, by reason of the superiority of his experience and his culture, naturally gives to his action the efficacious power which is required." But his authority is neither violent or repressive: "it consists almost entirely in a certain moral ascendancy."

The importance of Durkheim's thought for the sociological understanding of education may be inferred from the following fragment: "There is no man who can bring it to pass that a society shall have, at any given moment, any other system of education than that which is implied in its structure, just as it is impossible for a living organism to have other organs and functions than those which are implied in its constitution."

In Chapter III Durkheim distinguishes Education ("the action exerted upon children by their parents and teachers") from Pedagogy ("ways of conceiving education"), and discusses the nature and method of pedagogy in detail. The last two chapters show the relation between pedagogy and sociology, and discuss secondary education in France.



"It is a great sport," said a New York politician, "to see the people go to the polls, and vote like cattle for the ticket we propose." Bowden, *The Evolution of the Politician*, p. 37.

IN OTHER words, between 1800 and 1880 everything that we now call social science went through a change which may be likened to the passing of an individual from babyhood to adolescence. The sociologists have not generally appreciated the fact that their specialty came into existence as an organic part of this maturing of social science as a whole. Small, *Origins of Sociology*, p. 14.

LIVING CONDITIONS AMONG SAMOANS

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EXPERIENCE in Samoa,¹ as in Hawaii, proves that there is no biological basis for race prejudice or race hatred. Not only did white, half-caste, and Samoan children associate with each other, but amongst all members of both races there seemed to be the friendliest feeling. Even when a sailor picked a "row" with a big Samoan husky, and the sailors and Samoans backed their representatives with some feeling, the sense of fair play on both sides led all to acquiesce in the sound thrashing administered to the sailor.

While it is possible that in the centuries of life in their south sea home, certain types of individuals have tended to survive, and thus develop some biological characteristics, yet all the traits that the observer can detect seem to be due to the social heritage into which the child is born. It is interesting to note that even the color of the skin has a tendency to become lighter after a few years of residence in a temperate climate. A half-caste girl, returning from school in New Zealand, was quite fair, till a few months

¹The following paper is based on observations made by the writer during his stay of one year as principal of a government school on the island of Tutuila, American Samoa. American Samoa is composed of five inhabited islands, with a population in 1920 of 8,305. A naval station is maintained on the island of Tutuila, with a white personnel of perhaps 150. There are a dozen or two white missionaries and store-keepers. Aside from the Samoan wives of perhaps 20 sailors and traders, and their half-caste children, there are a few dozen half-caste adults, descended from earlier white settlers. The balance of the population is almost entirely Samoan. During my stay there was one government school and about three mission schools in which English was taught. The principal of the government school has the best opportunity to learn the language, habits, history and traditions of the people. Association with missionaries was especially stimulating. To one book, amongst a dozen or so others, I am especially indebted—*Samoa, a Hundred Years Ago and Long Before*, by George Turner. His account of the primitive days is invaluable in coming to understand the people of today.

of the tropic sun once more tanned her cheeks a typical Samoan brown.

Most casual observers describe the happy conditions of life in an island paradise, where breadfruit and cocoanuts grow on the trees, without cultivation, where clothing is almost, if not quite unnecessary, and no one has to work. These descriptions are a bit idealized. As a matter of fact, plantations require some care, fish must be caught, food cooked, clothing either manufactured at home, or purchased with money which represents labor, and in these latter days taxes paid in an amount which represents a good many days labor for every able-bodied Samoan.

The typical Samoan is an agriculturist. His family, usually numbering a dozen or more with all dependents, have a *taro* patch of perhaps half an acre, a banana patch half as large, a few bread-fruit trees, and a goodly number of cocoanut trees, which afford him his chief income in money, from the sale of *copra*. The average annual income is from \$50 to \$500 per year. This must buy the clothing for the family, tools, cooking utensils, alarm clock, and luxuries — mirrors, toilet necessities, blankets, pictures, a case or two of canned salmon for a feast, with perhaps a brass bed, springs, and mattress, table, table-cloth, and dishes, all the latter for the entertainment of an occasional white guest. Twice a year the *copra* must be cut for taxes, with the surplus to be sold. When a house or boat is to be built, a skilled workman must be hired, and liberally paid in gifts of food, money, or miscellaneous gifts. An increasing number of young men find employment as laborers at the naval station, or in domestic service, or clerical service.

Yet the fact remains that work is intermittent, no one works too hard, and no one starves.

The food of the Samoans today is the same as their an-

cestors enjoyed before the coming of the white man, and consists almost entirely of the products of their island home. Such canned goods, sugar, etc. as is used by the natives is distinctly a luxury, and is used only on rare occasions, and by a limited number of the people. On leaving with some of my boys for my first visit to a Samoan village, I was amazed at their request for a little salt. Not that *they* wanted it, but they thought their chicken might be more acceptable to their guest if only they had salt.

Bread-fruit, *taro*, and fish are the staples. Bread-fruit in season, and *taro* at other times form the starch diet, taking the place bread and potatoes play in the diet of Americans. Fish furnish the meat ration, supplemented on special occasions by the pigs and chickens which every family raises. These latter serve as pets, scavengers, and food. They live in the house with their owners, accepting the leavings of food discarded by the people. The leaves of *taro* are cooked with cocoanut milk to form a sort of relish, or perhaps the equivalent of our vegetable dishes. Food is cooked in an *umu* or stone oven. Every family has a pot or two, but these are little used. I never saw a stove in the home of a Samoan.

Kava is the national drink of the natives. The root of the *kava* plant is ground in a stone mortar, thrown into a wooden bowl full of water, stirred, and strained. If for a guest, or for a chief, traditional formalities are preserved.

The *kava* must be prepared by the *taupo*, or official belle of the village; the host will dip the cocoanut shell cup in the bowl, and in a sing-song tone call out the name of the guest or chief being served. Care is taken to serve the highest in rank first.

Kava is slightly narcotic, and habit forming. It does not seem to affect the health of the natives appreciably, but when whites are long in the island, and imbibe freely, the

results are somewhat similar to drug addiction. The relaxation resulting from drinking *kava* seems to comport well with the disposition of the natives, already easy-going enough. Missionaries have tried to discourage the use of *kava*, but have met with little success. Even the Mormons have indifferent success in stamping out the habit when positively forbidding it, like tobacco, to their adherents.

The native style Samoan house seems admirably adapted to the needs of the people, and bids fair to survive indefinitely. It is round or oval shaped, the roof, like an inverted vegetable dish, being supported on posts four or five feet apart, and four to six feet high, around the eaves. The roof is thatched. Side walls there are none, except coconut-leaf shutters which are dropped at night or in inclement weather. The floor is of *ili-ili*, or smooth coral pebbles, on a platform of larger stones, so that the whole house is raised from eight inches to two feet above the level of the surrounding ground. The drainage is perfect. One may rinse his mouth, or pour out water, without bothering to go out doors (or rather out of the house, for there are no doors).

Furniture is equally simple. Beds consist of mats woven from the *pandanus* leaf, rolled up in the daytime, and stowed away next to the roof. It takes several nights for the tenderfoot to get used to sleeping on one of these beds, if previously accustomed to springs and mattress. Tables there are none, nor chairs. One sits on the floor, and food is served on trays of coconut leaf, with banana leaves for napkins.

Samoans do not seem to crave physical ease in the same way as whites. Hammocks they could easily obtain, if they desired, and cheap mattresses, even straw, would be considerably softer than a stiff mat spread on stones. Soft pillows they sometimes have, but these usually go unused, while they rest their head, or rather their neck, on a bam-

boo stick, ingeniously supported three or four inches above the bed. I learned to sleep on one of the beds, without a pillow, but never could get to sleep with my head hooked over one of their so-called pillows.

Climate smiles on the children of the tropics. Fanned by the balmy trade winds, and protected from the tropical sun by a rich coat of brown, clothing is entirely unnecessary, as far as protection from the elements is concerned. Indeed clothing is a positive handicap, for in the frequent showers one's garments are drenched, and in tramping the 'bush' they are torn by the branches. Before the coming of the missionaries, an apron of *ti* leaves was all that either sex thought necessary. *Tapa* and fine mats were used on state occasions, and were highly prized. Today, the dress of the men is the *lava-lava*, or cotton cloth wrapped about the waist, and falling to the knees. Shirts are used for church and formal occasions; shoes are almost unknown. The women add a long flowing gown, like a night gown, which, however, is frequently discarded when at work in the house or in the plantation.

The "chiefly" caste was well developed, and before the coming of the whites, the common man had few rights not at the mercy of the chief. Christian teaching did much to better the condition of the masses, and with the establishment of American rule, the rights of all were enforced by courts. But the magistrates of the villages, without exception, still are the chiefs. A "chiefly" title, or name, is hereditary. The chief, or rather the "chiefly" family, own the best lands of the village, have the largest house, and the social standing of the chief is respected by all. An attempt by an inexperienced American governor to punish a chief by removing him from his office of village magistrate, and appointing another, is sure to be unsuccessful.

The "chiefly" language is a peculiar feature of Samoan

life. The chief himself, his wife and family, his hands and feet, his house, his boat, his cocoanut trees, and everything he possesses are known by different names from similar objects belonging to other people. In the olden days, a "chiefly" language was spoken which was unintelligible to the people. It seems that today the preservation of law and order amongst the people is dependent upon the chiefs. They are regularly appointed to positions as magistrates and judges, and paid a small salary by the government.

Every young man, upon reaching what he thinks is the age of maturity, at about 16 to 21, must be tattooed. The entire body from the waist to the knees is covered by a conventional design. The process is long and painful. I was told that all his friends come to comfort the sufferer, and the girls of the village come and sing sweet songs to make him happy. Infections sometimes set in, and I am told that deaths have been known to result from blood poisoning. The family of the boy must pay a liberal fee to the tattooer.

But when the process is over, the boy has become a man! Now he may go with the men on the great *bonito* fishing trips, and when he finds a suitable bride, he may marry. If a young man reaches manly stature and is not tattooed, he becomes the sport of all associates.

The missionaries have tried to stop the practise. The ceremonies attending smack of heathenism and debauchery, and no student is admitted to the mission schools to become a native pastor if tattooed. Consequently, all the native ministers are free from tattooing. Not to be tattooed is a sure sign of the clerical calling. No better proof of the force of custom, or convention, could be found, than the survival of this heathen practise, through nearly a century of Christian teaching.

(To be followed in the November-December JOURNAL by an article, "Social Traits of the Samoans," by Mr. Green.)

SOCIAL VALUES AND PROBLEMS OF THE RADIO

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THERE IS IN AMERICA today scarcely a community so remote, or a family so poor; or an individual so illiterate but may enjoy the benefits, privileges, and pleasures of the radio.

The radio seems to possess, in some degree at least, an element of the divine omnipresence. If a man mounts an aeroplane and rises above the clouds, the radio is there; if he dives in the submarine beneath the waves of the sea, it is there; if he flies to the North Pole or to the South, behold it is there — so universal is the radio.¹

By means of the radio the minister of the Gospel broadcasts his vital messages of moral and spiritual truth; by it the politician announces his platform and policies; by it the military chief issues his orders to distant generals; by it the shut-in and the stay-at-home enjoy pleasures otherwise impossible; and by it the traveler or explorer may receive daily communications from his home, his friends, or from officials.² And thus we are coming rather belatedly perhaps to realize that the radio is a very definite factor in our present life and civilization; and not only so, but we may expect it, when fully developed, to become a still greater factor.

The *educational* value of the radio is among the first and most important of its social values. Our mental habits are changing through radio, asserts Dr. Willis R. Whit-

¹ "Twin Miracles; Radio and Aviation," *Outlook*, July 18, 1923.

² "Sweet are the Uses of the Radio," *Harper's*, January, 1924.

ney, in *Popular Radio*.³ In fact, he thinks that one of the most important features about it is its promise as a training school for future scientists. The high-school boy who has been experimenting for a year or two with home-made radio sets probably has a better working knowledge of electrical science than was possessed by the average college graduate of twenty years ago. He has acquired, almost unconsciously, many of the essentials for a life of useful scientific research.

The young man who enters science by the path of radio is very likely, Dr. Whitney thinks, to retain his desirable open-mindedness and freedom from the rule of precedent. Most of the facts about radio, he says, have no precedents. Many of them are still unclassified or poorly understood, and it is just such unclassified facts in all branches of human knowledge which are the most interesting and which give us, when they are followed up, the most fruitful scientific advances. To quote the author further:

Even the receiving of broadcast concerts is encouraging, I think, to a habit of open-mindedness. Tuning in on a distant station is a good deal like hunting for an unknown scientific fact. This is the true and necessary spirit of scientific research, the spirit of 'try it and see what happens.' If you graduate from radio and move into a college, university, or technical research laboratory somewhere, you will find that the mental habits you formed in working out the details of your set will be exactly the mental habits most in demand in the larger field of general research.

Another aspect of amateur radio that is significant from the educational point of view is the fact that it seems to have succeeded in doing what it seems so difficult for schoolmasters to do. It has made education interesting. The mathematical principle of inductance and capacity, of interference and tuning and the heterodyne, are not by any means easy to understand. If the average youngster were compelled to learn these principles in school he would consider, no doubt, that he was being grievously oppressed. Yet when these same prin-

³ *Popular Radio*, March, 1924, p. 215 ff.

ciples concern his beloved radio set he tackles them not only without protest, but actually with eagerness. And, what is more important, he succeeds in learning them.

Why is this true? There are, I think, two reasons. They are the same reasons that explain the fact that most students are more interested in athletics than they are in their studies. Athletics possess two characteristics that never fail to be appealing to the human mind: they involve the interest of a contest, and they mean doing something by team-work. These reasons apply with equal force to amateur radio. Radio happens to be a contest against the forces of nature, a mental golf bogey against static or fading or the physical imperfection of one's apparatus. . . .

The second attractive element of athletics, that of team-work, is also an element of radio. Radio is necessarily a cooperative business. It requires, at the least, a sender and a listener. It extends itself, very soon, to the group of kindred enthusiasts who form the local radio club. How vital an element this is in the radio world is sufficiently attested by the hundreds, probably thousands, of amateur organizations that are active all over the world.

A further possible educational value of the radio lies in the opportunity which it affords to study languages. The broadcasting station at Manchester, England, is reported to be supplying its patrons with short programs in French, Spanish, German, and Italian, in addition to the regular English program.

It is usually admitted that the chief difficulty in mastering any foreign language is lack of opportunity for hearing it spoken regularly. This radio innovation ought to prove an easy means for this without the expense of foreign travel. Many prophets have predicted that radio is to give us a universal language. Perhaps it will, but there is another possibility. When listening becomes regularly international, which it will soon if the improvement of the apparatus continues, it may be that radio listeners will learn all the languages. Many travelers have remarked that most of the natives of Switzerland, because of constant contact with many languages, speak French, English, German, and Italian equally well. There is no reason why this should not be general over the world.⁴

⁴ *Popular Radio*, March, 1924, p. 286 ff.

The "open forum" possibilities of the radio were recently tested. A speaker in Chicago announced that at the close of his address over the radio he would answer questions. When he finished, a considerable number of questions had come in by telephone, and these he replied to by radio.

A new system of broadcasting, introduced by the Westinghouse Company, is asserted by them to be the most important step since broadcasting itself was initiated. The system makes it possible for a speech or a concert delivered at a central point to be received clearly by radio listeners with even the cheapest instruments in the area bounded by the Panama Canal Zone, Bermuda, the North Pole, and the Hawaiian Islands. This is done by sending out original broadcasting on a very low wave-length with peculiar penetrating quality not possessed by the high wave-lengths usually employed for broadcasting. The low wave-length broadcasting cannot be heard on the ordinary receiver, but it can be picked up by special apparatus at the various stations and repeated to local listeners on the ordinary wave-lengths. It is thus possible for small local stations to obtain regularly material of the highest quality. The uses of such a system are obvious. In an editorial headed "The Whole World as Radio Audience," the *Post* of Pittsburgh says of it:

What this will mean to the Government, to education, to business, and to the candidates in national campaigns is beyond estimate. It should be of the utmost aid in relieving our Presidents of the hardships of speaking tours. The President can speak into a microphone in Washington and can be heard distinctly throughout the country and its neighbors — by an audience estimated up to 200,000,000. In time, it is predicted, he will be able to speak in this way to the entire world — not in any sense through an announcer, but by his own voice wholly. On Sundays the people everywhere may hear the greatest preachers. With such a marvelous device to serve

it, civilization ought to progress as never before, with the world made more interesting as well as wiser.⁵

The "personal contact" value of the radio is almost limitless. Men, women, and children in both isolated farmhouse, and in crowded tenement who have never attended "public dinners or political conventions, or religious assemblies are now sitting in with leaders of thought and action, and learning how the other half thinks. The opportunity for a hundred millions to think together, feel together, and to act as a single corporate irresistible force is something new in the history of mankind, something that surpasses all the dreams of science or education or religion."⁶

The radio is employed to social advantage by the deaf and the blind, the sick, the aged, and other shut-ins and stay-at-homes who find it practically impossible to attend public gatherings. To all such people it is giving a new zest in life; it breaks down their isolation. While the radio will not cure deafness, it will, however, enable the partially deaf person to hear that which he could not hear in the ordinary way. He who is hard of hearing may often "listen in" perfectly well, with his brothers and sisters whose ears are unimpaired. Dr. Harold Hays, president of the American Federation of Organizations for the Hard of Hearing, contributes to *What's in the Air* a statement of what radio already means to those whose hearing is affected:

Radio offers a source of happiness to the deafened which at present is unrealized. Our eyes were opened to its possibilities by the following case: One of the directors for the New York League for the

⁵ *Literary Digest*, December 19, 1923, p. 23.

⁶ Pres. W. H. P. Faunce, "Will the Radio Create a 'Mob Mind' in America?" *Calif. Christian Advocate*, July 3, 1924, p. 5.

Hard of Hearing has been hopelessly deaf for years; so much so that he can only understand when an electric device is attached to each ear. Although in the music publishing business, he had not been able to hear music for over twenty years. He never went to a concert or a banquet. He never mingled in social activities. A friend suggested a radio receiving set. To his amazement he could hear so well that now he sits in his easy-chair of an evening, with headphones clapped on his ears, and hears concerts, speeches, market reports, jazz, and bed-time stories. When he told me about it his eyes filled with tears of happiness and he said: 'Doctor, I never expected to hear the human voice again — I feel as though I was reborn — my life is made over again.'

What does this mean for the future? It means two things — first, it means untold happiness to those whose minds have been in darkness for many years; and secondly, it means that they or the experimenters in radio may discover some new method of alleviating deafness.

The radio by enabling us to hear religious music and messages regularly is a very definite factor *religiously*. There is an added advantage to the church itself, for the radio is a successful publicity medium. One might think that if people could remain at home and hear a speaker that the assembled congregation would decrease, but the opposite seems to be true. Persons who have listened to a preacher over the radio are frequently moved with a desire to see as well as to hear him. Consequently from the religious standpoint a two-fold benefit results from the use of radio: the visible audience increases, while the invisible one is enabled to "participate" in worship.

Not the least of the services of the radio lies in the fact that it possesses *economic value*. The farmer may be warned in harvest time of an approaching rain which would occasion great loss should he be caught with quantities of mown hay; or he may be warned of coming frost, and because of the warning be prepared to smudge his

fruit; or he may be kept informed of stock market prices, and so be enabled to buy and sell to the best advantage. Likewise the men who control the stock markets in the great Boards of Trade and Stock Exchanges in the world's great centers are enabled to receive an exchange of information as to the trend of prices.

A further value of the radio has been observed by the *military, naval, and commercial* arms of the government. During the military activities and expeditions immediate information as to definite directions and instructions are highly essential, and the radio, because it does not necessitate the installing of costly cables or telephone lines, offers this service to officers anywhere in any country. The line of communication through the air is always and everywhere available. Commercial or naval ships in distress at sea or imperilled by an enemy can immediately signal for help and thus receive relief in times of peril.⁷ Travelers abroad, or tourists, or campers need not feel that they are entirely isolated from civilization and their first interests, since they can readily keep in contact with the progress of the world's affairs, and, by special arrangement, with their own private affairs, if they choose to do so.

But the most common and universal service of the radio is its social value as a means of *recreation*. It offers an opportunity to lovers of vocal, instrumental, and operatic music to be entertained for several hours each day; and to those interested in lectures, readings, and bed-time stories to enjoy these various species of entertainment.

It is unfortunate that anything which is admittedly of such great social and economic value as is the radio should, in its operation, present difficulties. One of the most serious of these is that of persuading some of the greatest

⁷ "War Department Radio Net," *Scientific American*, June, 1924.

artists to perform for the radio broadcasting stations. The artists insist that they should be remunerated for this kind of work as well as for other appearances. To date, however, the radio has been used rather as an advertising medium by churches, theatres, and newspapers, from which the artist himself benefits as much as anyone; and until some practical method of collecting from the listeners has been employed or developed, the broadcasting managers insist that the services of the artist performers should be free. Another authority thinks, however, that it would be fair for the regular professionals to receive one-half their regular remuneration for such performances, and that amateurs should give their services gratuitously. The reason offered is that were they to appear in a public program it would require one-half of the professional's income for his advertising expenses, while the income of the amateur would just about balance his advertising cost.

Perhaps the most reasonable suggestion thus far offered regarding the collection from the audience for radio service is the License System, which is already in operation in all the countries except the United States. Through a License System the broadcasting companies could arrange a satisfactory division of the financial resources, by the consent and supervision of the Department of Commerce, under which all radio activities are conducted, and of which Herbert Hoover is, at the present time, in charge.

A second difficulty which the radio presents has reference to the control of the radio system. There are at present four principal radio companies operating in the United States, each of which seems to be striving for the mastery of the air. They are: The American Telephone and Telegraph Company; The Radio Corporation of America; The Westinghouse Electrical and Manufacturing Company; and the General Electric Company. There is considerable

anxiety lest one of these companies secure practically a monopoly of the air and become a dictator of the kind of music, religion, and politics which we may be permitted to hear. Such a monopoly would be more complete than the present control of the daily news. Secretary Hoover agrees that it would be most unfortunate for the people of this country to whom broadcasting has become an important incident of life, if its control should come into the hands of any single corporation, individual, or combination. It would be the same as though the entire press of the country were so controlled.⁸

The "war in the air" which is now disturbing the contentment of radio fans, began when the American Telephone and Telegraph Company embarked upon a campaign to protect the patents which it has acquired, and to place the business of broadcasting upon a commercial basis. Its contention is that it is in the business of transmission; that it has spent millions of its stockholders' money to develop radio-telephony and therefore is entitled to reap the benefits of this investment; that it must protect its stockholders, and likewise its patents, which are being infringed. In other words, it must stop furnishing "something for nothing."

A critical editor comments as follows:

Radio, like newspapers, and the stage, motion pictures, and current magazines, has a publicity power that in honest hands is a benefit of inestimable value, but under unscrupulous control may become a public menace and a delusion. Because of its newness the power of radio to benefit or harm is only beginning to be realized, but already there have appeared many signs that propagandists, religious zealots, and unprincipled persons with axes to grind are seeking a way to reach radio audiences with their peculiar brands of publicity.

⁸ "The Fight for the Freedom of the Air," *Literary Digest*, March 22, 1924.

These are aware, of course, that the radio audience is not only very large but very widely diffused. Experiments have made this fact evident. For instance, an announcement was made one evening from the KYW station that a prize of a new automobile tire would be awarded to the person bearing the name first drawn from among all the names of the persons in each state who responded to the offer. Representatives of every state, except Arizona, responded; also of every province of Canada, and of a number of states in Mexico.

A broadcaster on one occasion requested the listeners to phone in their special requests, if they had a preference. Following the announcement three telephones were kept busy constantly for many hours. The person in charge of the telephone station afterwards gave the information that there was an average, for each of the telephones, of a thousand calls an hour, most of which had of necessity to be disregarded.⁹

In the matter of radio activity America is leading the world; England is a distant second; and Australia is third. France and Germany have hardly begun the use of the radio in any general sense. Indeed, broadcasting is only starting in many countries, and amateurs are not receiving the encouragement, and consequently are not making the contributions that their experiments have yielded in America.

Still there is no question but that radio is making rapid strides in popularity and in usefulness, and that it will ultimately become a very important means of communication between countries. So far, however, it has not done much towards fulfilling its highest promise as a means of bringing together the nations and peoples and races of the

⁹ *American Magazine*, March, 1924, p. 211.

world into closer contact with one another, probably because of the two-fold fact that they have not generally recognized the possibilities in the radio and that there has not yet developed a common means of communication. Perhaps nothing has contributed so largely to the antagonisms and conflicts among the nations as their isolation from each other because of their diverse languages and their natural geographical barriers. By means of the radio all geographic boundaries are at once eliminated, and it becomes both possible and probable that the peoples of the world will either eventually unite in acquiring one universal language, or else become familiar with the languages employed by the largest populations of the world. When the importance of either of these alternatives has been fully realized and steps have been taken for its accomplishment, then the possibilities of the radio as a socializing agency will begin to be demonstrated.



ARE WE to accept Treitschke's dictum that the many must forever dig and weave and forge that the few may learn and paint and write, or can we conceive a society in which the generality of men may do their best service by fulfilling their own lives? Hobhouse, *Social Development*, p. 33.

GOVERNMENT must be so ordered that it shall be free at all times to regulate the industrial and financial power of the country to the end that the man with only one talent may increase his substance in the same proportion and with the same facility that is accorded a man with five talents. He must not be forced by the despair of neglect and exploitation, economic and political slavery, to bury his talent in the tortuous cycle of poverty, ignorance, and unremitting toil, in order that a few five-talent men may increase their substance a thousand fold. Bowden, *The Evolution of the Politician*, p. 244.

PUBLIC OPINION AS A CAUSE OF CRIME

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DURING MOST of the history of mankind society has been organized on the basis of primary or face-to-face groups. Such groups were largely self-sufficient and each was isolated from all other groups. All members of a group had the same traditions and were confronted by the same problems. The codes were definite and were easily taught to the young. Even in the England of two centuries ago the teacher had a very definite conception of the type he was trying to produce by his teaching and knew that he must apply three pressures in order to produce that type — the classical culture, the society of gentlemen, and the Established Church. By these pressures he produced the Christian-scholar-gentleman as in a mold.¹ In such situations control was spontaneous and easy.

But during the last two centuries a different plan of organization has been adopted. Primary groups still remain, to be sure, but comparatively and to some extent absolutely they are less important than they were before. Life has been broken up into departments and different moral areas, and the important influences in many phases of life may come across the continent. In this society there is a great diversity of opinions, standards, and codes. This diversity affects most of our important activities and insti-

EDITORIAL NOTE: This article is taken from a forthcoming book on Criminology, to be published by J. B. Lippincott Company.

¹I am indebted for this illustration to a lecture by Professor S. P. Sherman of the University of Illinois, on "An American Ideal."

tutions — marriage, religion, business, education, and politics. Professor Dewey has insisted "It is not easy to exaggerate the extent to which we now pass from one kind of nurture to another as we go from business to church, from science to newspaper, from business to art, from companionship to politics, from home to school. An individual is now subjected to many conflicting schemes of education. Hence habits are divided against one another, personality is disrupted, the scheme of conduct is confused and disintegrated."²

Mobility is the method by which this diversity has been brought about. This mobility may be either physical or psychological, but either case means contact with different situations, different traditions, and different standards. A greater amount of crime may or may not be found in the groups with the greater amount of mobility in the physical sense. McKenzie found in Columbus, Ohio, a significant correlation between mobility of population and frequency of juvenile delinquency by wards (+.39).³

But on the other hand, it is a well known fact that immigrants are arrested, found guilty of crimes, and imprisoned less frequently than the native-born in proportion to the population when proper correction is made for the differences in the age-composition and rural-urban distribution of immigrants. The explanation is that immigrants, in spite of mobility, retain their old traditions and standards because they do not come in contact with different standards. But the children of these immigrants come in contact with both sets of codes and a higher criminality rate results. And it may be significant that the highest criminality rate found by Laughlin for any nativity group was

² John Dewey, *Human Nature and Conduct*, p. 130.

³ R. D. McKenzie, "The Neighborhood: a Study of Local Life in the city of Columbus, Ohio," *Amer. Jour. of Sociology*, 28:166.

for the native-born with one parent native-born and the other foreign-born.⁴

But in so far as the traditions of the immigrant group are distinctly opposed to law, the younger generation appears in general to approach the type set by the native-born of native parentage. Table I shows that male immigrants from Italy commit crimes of violence eight times as frequently, in proportion to population, as the native-born sons of native-born parents; and it shows that the sons of Italian immigrants commit the same number of crimes of violence as the native-born of native-parentage. This means that that the sons of Italian immigrants lose the Italian codes and traditions and acquire some of the American codes and traditions; they commit more crimes than their parents but not so many crimes of violence.⁵

But people still retain the primary attitude of control of the behavior of others. They see the variant activities of people in other groups and desire to stop them. They cannot stop them by the spontaneous methods of the face-to-face group and consequently resort to law for this purpose. But the very conditions that made the spontaneous group pressures ineffective also produced a public disre-

⁴ H. H. Laughlin, *Hearings before the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization*, House of Representatives, 67th Congress, 3rd Session, November 21, 1922, Serial 7-C, p. 790. In general this study is quite misleading in its conclusions regarding crime because of the failure to take account of differences of age-composition and distribution. And it is inexplicable, except in terms of prejudice, that Laughlin explained the fact cited above as follows: "As in the case of many other qualities which may be carried in the blood or germ plasm and which at the same time may not show in the personality of the carrier or potential parent, the children of immigrants do not make so favorable a record in reference to crime and delinquency, as do the immigrants themselves." (*Ibid.*)

⁵ Computed from reports of Massachusetts Department of Correction, 1914-1923. The population of the State was secured from the State Census Report of 1915, since the Federal Report of 1920 does not give the necessary information. The figures refer to males of all ages, which tends to increase the rate for the Italian immigrants above the figure that would have been secured if correction could have been made for differences in age-composition. In spite of this, and of the further fact that the figures refer to the period in which migrations due to the war upset ratios to a considerable extent, the differences are so striking as to justify a conclusion until further figures show the opposite.

TABLE I

COMMITMENTS TO MASSACHUSETTS STATE PRISON AND STATE RE-
 FORMATORY FOR MURDER, MANSLAUGHTER, AND ASSAULT,
 1914-1922, PER 100,000 POPULATION IN EACH GROUP
 IN 1915

	<i>Number Committed for Specified Offenses per 100,000 in Same Group</i>
Born in Italy	192
Native-born, one or both parents born in Italy	24
Native-born of native parentage	24
Native-born, one or both parents born in any foreign country	22

gard for law. A few centuries ago government had prestige and was even assumed to be related intimately to deity. The prestige secured from that source was retained by force of custom and a certain practical efficiency in the simpler societies. But as the tests of efficiency became more accurate and the problems became more difficult because of the complexity of modern life, the prestige of government was lost. And so we find at the present time a general disregard for law and a general disrespect for those who make and enforce laws. Legislatures, considered as corporate bodies rather than as individuals, are generally regarded by the public with contempt, suspicion, and distrust. Hardly one novel dealing with legislatures has been written in the United States in the last generation which has not presented them as corrupt, boss-ridden, inefficient, and lacking in scientific methods and procedure. Hundreds of cartoons can be found characterizing the legislatures in the same way, but few that show them to be honest and efficient. Whether these are correct or not is beside the point; they show the attitude of the public at any rate. Similarly the police are generally regarded and described

as brutal, corrupt, and inefficient. Fosdick sums up the general public attitude toward the police thus: "Instead of confidence and trust, the attitude of the public toward the police is far more often than not one of cynicism and suspicion."⁶

The public attitude toward the courts is perhaps more favorable, but inclines toward ridicule of the higher courts for corporate inefficiency, and still greater ridicule and contempt for the lower courts for the additional defects of individual inefficiency and squalid surroundings. Again and again the statement is made when some influential person is being tried "He is undoubtedly guilty but will never be convicted." A prominent member of the bar of Philadelphia in the following statement is probably representing fairly well the public attitude: "The wonder is not that so many guilty men escape, but that under our present system that any guilty men are ever convicted." Where they have money enough to employ the most able counsel and to take advantage of every delay and technicality available, they practically never are convicted."⁷

In view of this general attitude toward the men and institutions that make and enforce laws, it is clear that there can be little respect for law as such. There may be some fear of detection and punishment, but little inner opposition to lawbreaking so long as one is not affected and his intimate associates do not object. The general public attitude seems to be that one should use his own discretion in regard to obeying the laws. In fact one of the prominent newspapers in the autumn of 1923 practically advised people to use their own discretion in the matter of obeying a law that had been passed.

When this attitude is taken the problem is to do the

⁶ R. B. Fosdick, *American Police Systems*, p. 380.

⁷ S. Scoville, Jr., "The Evolution of our Criminal Procedure," *Annals of American Academy*, 52:97.

things one wants to do without getting caught. Some crimes are taboo in some circles but the crimes that are taboo in one circle may not be in another circle. And then when one is caught, the problem is to "fix things." It is popularly assumed that "respectable" people generally succeed in doing this if they have money enough. The jailer of Cook county, in Illinois, in 1922 gave as his fundamental explanation of the prevalence of crime the public belief in the possibility of "fixing things." Because of this opinion regarding the courts and the police, these institutions are regarded by those who have less money as selling justice. According to that opinion the principal reason for being arrested or convicted is poverty. And it is probable that no part of the population is better acquainted with the corruption and graft in the legislative, judicial, and police systems, so far as they exist, than are the professional criminals and the near-criminals. Those who are most insistent on the observation of law frequently take the law into their own hands, thus violating the law. The lynchings, Ku Klux Klan raids, deportations, and similar practices are illustrations of the public distrust of law and of formal institutions.

And thus we have modern society divided, passing many laws, and having respect for few of them. It has been asserted that we have never in the history of the world had as much government and that government has never had as little influence as now. Both the number and the weakness of laws are explained by the same set of influences. Consequently, in contrast with public opinion in the simpler forms of society where crime was prevented by an even, uniform, and consistent public opinion, many activities are pronounced crimes in modern society because of the lack of a public opinion of that kind, and many persons perform these acts which are called crimes for the same reason.

WHAT IS SOCIOLOGY?

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WHAT IS SOCIOLOGY? is a question that is in the minds of thousands of young people who are enrolling in beginning courses in sociology at the opening of the college year. This brief paper is merely a sort of map or chart indicating some of the main points of interest to be visited and studied by the beginner in sociology.

The *social group* is perhaps the most frequent theme to be met with in sociology. It refers to any number of associating human beings — a family group, a boys' gang, a girls' clique, a city, a race. A number of trees growing near together would be a group, but it takes associating beings to make a social group. The groups in which one meets other human beings face to face are called *primary groups*.¹ In these the associations are intimate and personal. They are called "primary" because they are foremost in forming the social nature and ideals of the individual.

Social groups are important because into them every human *individual* is born, helpless, uncritical, and more or less responsive. He is subject to their beliefs, sentiments, customs, and so on. He starts in life as just one out of many. At first he is a biological bundle of impulses, capable of reacting both to and against the stimuli which come from his elders and associates. As he begins to play a rôle in the give-and-take processes of his group life, he becomes more than a mere individual — he becomes an individual who stands for something in his social relation-

¹ Cf. C. H. Cooley, *Social Organization* (Scribner's, 1909), Ch. III.

ships, who assumes responsibility, and who secures a recognition from his fellows. In sociology this kind of an individual is called a *person*.

The individual inherits certain traits, chief of which are impulses and instinctive *urges* to action. The infant early begins to look about, to crawl, "to get into mischief." No matter how exciting an experience may be, we all grow tired of it after a time, and long for something different and new — the *urge for new experience* is a basic trait of the individual.

The search for new experience leads the child into situations where his fingers are burned and his toes are pinched; and the adult, where life-hopes and plans are wrecked. Hence, another basic urge expresses itself — the *urge for security*. As one grows older, he may become conservative, that is, his urge for security increases. Religious practices are often the expression of a wish for security in the next world. To some people, "saving one's soul" means scarcely more than attaining a safe place in a haven of rest.

But we would not rise above an animal level if we were not made to respond to other human beings in an endless variety of ways. Without the *urge for social response*, and the opportunity of satisfying it no one would develop above the level of a babbling idiot. If one could not respond to any other human being, what language would he speak?

In addition to the need for social response, there is the *urge for recognition*. Every individual early shows a desire "to be somebody," to have himself and his word respected, to be credited with ability, to be promoted, "to get ahead." These four basic urges constitute the individual's chief equipment at birth.²

The individual's urges enable him to respond to various

² Cf. Thomas' analysis of the four wishes in Park and Burgess, *Introduction to the Science of Sociology* (Univ. of Chicago Press, 1921), pp. 488-490.

phases of his environment which thus become valuable and are called *values*. When two or more persons desire the same thing it becomes thereby a *social value*. These social values may be very tangible as material property, or intangible as family relationships. They all tend to take on an *institutional* form; they tend to establish *patterns* of conduct to be followed. There are social values and patterns which are common to all races of mankind, but are expressed in countless modifications. Every race, for example, has (1) its language patterns and values, (2) its family-life patterns and values, (3) its earning-a-livelihood patterns and values (types of work, types of clothing, of housing, of foods), (4) its myth and knowledge patterns and values, (5) its property patterns and values, (6) its religious patterns and values, (7) its art patterns and values, (8) its government and group control patterns and values, (9) its play patterns and values and (10) its war and defense patterns and values.³

The individual meets with these socially valuable things in the contacts with the human beings composing the social groups into which he is born and which he chooses to join. Thus, the nature of his *social contacts* are exceedingly important; they determine what social values will come into his life.

In his social contacts the individual is continually reacting toward or against various elements in the prevailing standards and values. As a result of these contact experiences his feelings, emotions, and other reactions tend to become organized favorably toward certain social values and against others, that is, he is developing *attitudes*, or tendencies to act in certain ways. If these tendencies relate to the social values they are known as *social attitudes*. For example, if he is comfortable under the prevailing gov-

³ Cf. Clark Wissler, *Man and Culture* (Crowell, 1923), Ch. V, "The Universal Pattern."

ernment and property order he will probably display a Republican or Democratic attitude; or if he is uncomfortable, he will become restless, desire a change, and acquire a radical attitude toward the present political and economic order. A person's social attitudes are in one sense the most important thing about him, for they are his tendencies to do things in a social or associative world; they are the *social forces* that make the world go around, forward, or backward.

The individual is born partly a little anarchist and a little autocrat. He often responds against things, especially the things held socially valuable in his groups. This tendency creates *conflicts*. Every now and then, he reacts against the instructions of his parents, his playfellows, his teacher. He continues to make a noise when told to "be quiet"; he runs away when expected to stay at home. He violates the "speed laws." Conflict is a fundamental process in all mental and personal growth. If the individual did not react against anything he could not escape being flabby, a blubber. He would not acquire "timbre," mental initiative, social leadership. Conflict between two or more persons is hence a *social process*, in fact, one of the primary social processes to which sociology gives extended attention.

To react against a social value does not settle matters; it often creates a deadlock. When an individual challenges a social value, he is not necessarily right. The social value, such as honesty, may be the sound product of countless human experiences. Moreover, his wishes may be the product of little or no experience whatsoever. Hence it is well that they be inhibited and redirected. This adjustment represents another of the basic social processes; it is known as *accommodation*. According to this process in its largest sense one may "give in" wholly to his social en-

vironment, that is, to the prevailing social patterns of behavior and values. Or he may strive to make over his habitual feeling and thinking reactions so that they "fit in" with things as they are. By this procedure he illustrates the process of *cooperation* with others. Or, he may strive to make over the prevailing patterns and values of social life. In this latter undertaking he may achieve *leadership* in its progressive aspects.

In and through the accommodations of life a person becomes unconsciously like or makes over the social values held by his various groups. This becoming like something, or making something like one's own values usually results in a give-and-take procedure that illustrates another social process, that of *assimilation*. In its most complete expression assimilation leads to the development of a sense of complete responsibility toward all individuals within one's own groups and toward all other social groups. The product is a *socialized person* and the process is *socialization*.

Groups through their regulations favoring the things held valuable exercise *control* over their members; in fact, they exercise a variety of *controls*. These taken together represent group control or *social control*. Sometimes this is too rigid and repressive, producing unrest, radicalism, and revolutions. Sometimes, it is too easy, producing "spoiled children," people who "get by," and self-centered dictators.

The field of sociology is illustrated by the types of courses that are being offered. (1) There are courses in *social origins*. These deal with the origins of the social values, that is, of language, of family life, of property systems, and so on — in short, with the origins of culture. (2) There are courses in *social psychology*, which treat of the social processes of interaction, conflict, accommodation, assimilation, and so on. (3) There are courses in *social theory*, which, on the basis of the conflicts and accommo-

dations of life, work out theories of personal growth and social progress. (4) There are courses in *social technology*, or applied sociology, where methods are developed for applying social theories to the improvement of the conflict and cooperation phases of life, that is, to the solution of *social problems*, such as housing, family instability, child labor, poverty, crime, injustice. These are the courses that the beginner is often anxious to take because of their concrete appeal. (5) There are courses in *social research*, which specialize on methods of obtaining not merely new facts but chiefly on methods for understanding the *meaning* of facts. *Personal experiences* constitute the main field of social research. The story of one's experiences constitutes his *life history*, the most important and original type of document in the whole field of sociological investigation.

The beginning student in sociology may start his sociological studies not in books but in writing out his own life history, following the suggestions given in this paper. In a series of semester papers he may describe (1) the various groups of which he has been a member, giving special attention to the differences in their activities, personnel, purposes, standards, and values. (2) He may describe in another paper some of the experiences he has had with his desires for new experience, for security, for social response, and for recognition. (3) He may "write up" some of the conflicts that he has had within his various groups. (4) He may give the history of some of the adjustments, accommodations, and changes in his attitudes that he has made. (5) Then he might compare his own life history, in each of the four phases that he has described, with the life histories of others, treating them of course impersonally, and draw tentative conclusions. In this way, he will be able to study sociology in a most concrete, first-hand, original, and fascinating way. In summary, it may be said that sociology is the study of the rôle of the group in the development of persons.

Book Notes

SYSTEM DER SOZIOLOGIE. By FRANZ OPPENHEIMER. Erster Halbband. Gustav Fischer, Jena, 1922, pp. xx+442.

This is the introductory volume representing the author's system of General Sociology. It deals with introductory materials; the second is the main one and gives an analysis of the social process; volumes three and four discuss the special sociology of the state and the economic order.

The author considers sociology as the study of "the social process," a theme which is approached but not treated in this volume, from two points of view: first that of individual psychology, and second, of social psychology. The first term is used to refer to impulses, feelings, interests leading to both self-preservation and to race maintenance; and the second, social psychology, is limited largely to a discussion of peace, law, and right on the one hand, and war, force, and spoliation on the other. The general treatment is philosophical, critical, and constructive.

E. S. B.

J. RAMSAY MACDONALD, THE MAN OF TOMORROW. By ICONOCLAST. Thomas Seltzer, Inc., 1924, pp. xii+290.

In words representing fine character delineation, J. Ramsay MacDonald is shown as a rugged man of keen mental sensibilities, human interests, and social individualism. The author has penetrated beneath the veil that hangs over MacDonald because of his being in public office, and outlines him as a keen psychologist and student of human nature.

INFORMING YOUR PUBLIC. By IRVING SQUIRE and KIRTLAND A. WILSON. Association Press, 1924, pp. x+158.

This handbook gives suggestions to public welfare organizations regarding wholesome publicity for their work. The preparing of facts, their distribution, advertising, the use of photographs are topics which indicate the main line of treatment. The social psychology of the theme in its fundamental phases is not treated.

SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT: *Its Nature and Conditions.* By L. T. HOBHOUSE. Henry Holt & Company, 1924, pp. 348.

This is the fourth and concluding number of a series of books in which the first (*Theory of the State*) discussed the relation of the individual to the community; the second (*The Rational Good*) discussed the ultimate goal in human action; the third, the relation of this goal to specific social conditions (*The Elements of Social Justice*). In this volume the aim is to describe the actual development of man and to compare this with the ideal. The treatment is social philosophical. The basic proposition is that social development is "a phase in the cosmic process of the development of mind" under conditions that it can never abolish but may subdue. The principle of competition is transmutable and "can be absorbed into a harmonious system." Social progress goes forward in centers not indissolubly related. The world today is in a crisis without adequate leadership.

E. S. B.

ORIGINS OF SOCIOLOGY. By ALBION W. SMALL. University of Chicago Press, 1924, pp. vii+359.

The thesis of this book is that from 1800 to about 1880 "the social sciences were half-consciously engaged in a drive from relatively irresponsible discursiveness toward "positivity" and "objectivity," and that during these years sociology emerged as a study of human experiences as occurring within the milieu of group life and processes. This line of descent the author finds through the German and Austrian historians, economists, and political scientists. It is to the development of this last proposition that the book is devoted. The writings of men like Niebur, Ranke, Menger, and Schmoller are authoritatively and scholarly canvassed. While other persons may seek the origins of sociology in other sources, this field has been thoroughly surveyed and digested, and the product will be a permanent document of historical significance.

THE CONTRAST. By HILAIRE BELLOC. R. M. McBride & Co., 1924, pp. 267.

Here is an interpretation in entertaining literary terms of some of the social, political, religious, language, and other contrasts between the United States and Europe, especially England. It exaggerates the differences between the United States and England, carrying the interpretation that they are so unlike as to make a union of the two impossible.

THE NEWSPAPER AND AUTHORITY. By LUCY SALMON. Oxford University Press, American Branch, 1923, pp. xxviii+505.

Authority, by its very nature, is conservative, passing on from generation to generation "its inherited, conferred, or usurped functions." When a dissatisfied group overturns an established group it quickly catches the occupational disease and becomes "authoritative." The newspaper is the voice of likeminded persons; the main struggle has been for its own freedom, for freedom from censorship of all kinds. The press, however, has never considered freedom from the standpoint of its own responsibility for securing it. The conservative press has been among the leaders in crying out for suppression of the liberal or radical press.

This is a scholarly, historical treatise in which such topics as the theory of censorship, preventive censorship, punitive censorship, the foreign language press, press bureaus, influence of the press are carefully discussed.

WHAT IS MAN? By J. ARTHUR THOMSON. G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1924, pp. ix+331.

This book is a group of ten lectures covering the evolution of man from the standpoint of a biologist. It is scientific but written for the general reader. From man's relation to the primates (as evidenced by the fact that his body, "is a walking museum of relics") to the development of man as a social and moral person — this is the scope of the lectures. The "dilemma of civilization" is found in the fact that civilized man has lost the buoyant self-mastery, the abandon of vigor, the absence of disease and fatigue, the freedom from worry and "bad habits," which characterize the wild animals. Viewed from biological premises this is a stimulating work, but it needs to be supplemented by a fuller application of psychological principles.

E. S. B.

INTRODUCTION TO SOCIAL SERVICE. By HENRY S. SPALDING, S. J. D. C. Heath & Company, 1923, pp. iv+232.

The author builds his social service ideas on the religious principles of the Catholic Church, such as belief in God, the incarnation of the Son of God, the belief in authority that "cometh down from above" and in doing charity because it pleases God. The social nature of man is emphasized and the obligations of social service stated forcefully. The types, methods, and principles of social service work are not discussed.

THEORY AND PRACTICE OF MEDICAL SOCIAL WORK.

By EDNA G. HENRY. Edwards Bros., Ann Arbor, 1924, pp. 195.

Medical social work is one of the newer and most promising developments in the general field of social work. It has shared with the larger field a dearth of "communicable technique," a lack of suitable text-book material. This want has been splendidly met by this recent volume which "concerns itself with both theory and practice" through fifteen chapters of concise and vital materials. The field of medical social work, its peculiar problems, its special technology, all are carefully defined. Notably welcome to the teacher of principles of social work are the many typical cases offered as exercises in suggested procedure. The format of the volume which is mimeographed and hence of lowered cost to the student and yet attractive is especially commendable.

F. S. L.

THE GROWTH OF CIVILIZATION. By W. J. PERRY. E. P. Dutton & Company, 1923, pp. viii+224.

This book succeeds in telling "simply and clearly" the story of "the origin and development of civilization and the spread of culture throughout the world." It begins with the food-gathering stage of culture and ends with the development of war. A fine sense of values is displayed throughout the discussion, and a moving, stimulating picture is given of the rise of culture. The author holds that if we would understand the dissensions now threatening civilization we must search back through the past for the causes and eliminate the sentiments that prevent us from realizing our best traits. He considers civilization not as a stable product but subject to convulsions. He urges that the causes of these be diagnosed as well as the causes of cultural advances — as a means for making society telic.

E. S. B.

DEMOCRACY AND LEADERSHIP. By IRVING BABBITT. Houghton Mifflin Company, 1924, pp. 349.

In this work in political philosophy the author analyzes types of political thinking, giving considerable space to Rousseau and Burke. He decries the present tendency to substitute social control for inner control, and humanitarianism for religion, and materialism for theocracy. He holds that "social justice" tends to undermine the moral responsibility of the individual and to obscure the need for standards.

THE UNSTABLE CHILD. By FLORENCE MATEER. D. Appleton & Company, 1924, pp. xii+471.

In addition to intelligence tests, *mental function*, or deviations in mentality, are emphasized. If we can learn why children deviate from normal mental functioning we can explain delinquency! The author develops well the idea of clinical psychology which, however, needs to be supplemented by clinical sociology. She does not penetrate far into the social causes of instability and delinquency. Through the findings of psychopathy she dogmatically generalizes that "there is no such thing as a bad child. Either he does not know any better or else he cannot help it." It is unfortunate that so excellent an approach to child problems should be marred by debatable conclusions.

FUNDAMENTALS OF SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY. By EMORY S. BOGARDUS. The Century Company, 1924, pp. xiv+479.

Intersocial stimulation is the theme which is presented in all of its interesting phases by this latest work in social psychology. The analysis begins with the native impulses and basic urges, such as the urge for new experience, for security, for social response and recognition (after Thomas), and finds the main field of interstimulation in the conflicts between these dynamic urges and established social standards and codes. The individual struggles against social values and is either made over or makes over these social values and patterns into which he is born. In so doing he may develop into a "social person." He may become "accommodated," or he may be repressed and become revolutionary. To the extent that he finds life "comfortable," he grows conservative; where life is "uncomfortable" he finds himself restless and radical, desiring and fighting for change. In these processes of interstimulation are found the clues to both personal and social development. This book is designed as a college text and contains a large number of original, thought-provoking questions for live class discussions.

B. R.

THE EDITORIAL. By LEON N. FLINT. D. Appleton & Company, 1923, xiii+262.

The editorial is a means of changing people's minds; it is a vehicle of opinion and argumentation. Nearly every phase of the editorial, its historical, critical, and purposive nature is considered in this book. The chapters on "The Editor and his Readers" and "Editorial Purposes" are the most important.

THE PEOPLES CORPORATION. By KING C. GILLETTE. Boni, Liveright & Company, New York, 1924, pp. 237.

Mr. King C. Gillette in his latest book *The Peoples Corporation* proposes a plan involving the business reorganization of our present economic system. Through this he hopes to annihilate the acquisitive impulse, the profit making motive, and economic inequality. His indictments of our present industrial system are well stated, but hardly new. Such a statement as "Our present system rewards the acquisitive impulse and punishes the public service impulse" cannot be reiterated too many times. However, in the concluding chapters of the book is found in detailed form Mr. Gillette's proposals for salvaging our industrial system. (It is interesting to note that the publishers have offered \$1000 in the form of prizes for the best reviews, favorable or unfavorable.)

M. J. V.

DIAGNOSING THE RURAL CHURCH. By C. LUTHER FRY. George H. Doran Company, 1924, pp. xxvi+234.

This book is far more stimulating than most statistical books in the same field. It emphasizes methods of studying the church. It treats of three methods of measuring the church: the money measure, the membership measure, and the attendance measure. Which is the best index of a community's interest in the church: the amount of money that is given, the membership in relation to the total population, or the attendance in relation to the membership? In stressing the last point, the author distinguishes between mere attendance at worship, and attendance involving activity. This book maps out the problems to be studied next in a survey and analysis of the personal experiences of rural people in their relation to the church. It succeeds well in giving the formal data necessary to an analysis of the actual experiences that rural people have had with the church.

E. S. B.

MAHATMA GANDHI. By ROMAIN ROLLAND. The Century Company, 1924, pp. 250.

The author gives a picture of one who leads because "he makes no compromises and never tries to hide a mistake." He works for the cause of humanity, suffers imprisonment for humanity's sake, believes in non-violence, and in non-cooperation. Gandhi is contrasted at length with Tagore; one is an apostle, the other, a philosopher. A genuine service has been rendered by the author in this dispassionate, analytical treatise.

OUTLINE OF PSYCHOLOGY. By WILLIAM McDUGALL. Chas. Scribner's Sons, 1923, pp. xvi+456.

Frankly assuming a purposive psychology, one dealing with life as a play of purposive forces, the author vigorously repudiates a mechanical psychology, that is, one that depicts life as "an aggregation or mechanical streaming of mental atoms." Pure "behaviorism" and "sensationalism" are likewise rejected as unsound. The author begins his book with a study of the behavior of the lower animals, then of higher animals, and finally, of man. He holds to his earlier instinct-emotion theory and criticizes Dewey's "habit" theory, viewing habits chiefly as results and products rather than as causes. Out of emotional, cognitive, and conative activities he builds character. The book has a splendid evolutionary swing to it. Those who accept the author's premises will rate his book as being a superior treatise, if not the best in its class. The point of view, excellent as it may be in other respects, is largely that of the individual in his social relationships rather than of the person developing into leadership out of a social environment.

E. S. B.

PSYCHOLOGY OF EARLY CHILDHOOD. By WILLIAM STERN. Transl. by Anna Barwell. Henry Holt & Company, 1924, pp. 557.

This revised third edition of a book first published in 1914 takes account of recent developments in experimental psychology, psychoanalysis, the Montessorri method, and so on. In 38 chapters the author gives a careful presentation of themes such as: the period before speech, the development of speech, the looking at pictures development, fantasy and play, enjoyment and creative activity, thought and intelligence, emotion, fears, lies, repression. From the standpoint of the development of the child as an "individual" this is a superior work.

E. S. B.

MANPOWER IN INDUSTRY. By EDWARD S. COWDRICK. Henry Holt & Company, 1924, pp. x+388.

In 41 chapters the author discusses succinctly "the underlying principles of human relationships in industry" and some of the methods arising out of personnel administration. The human element in industry is analyzed clearly, conservatively, and always with a forward look. The author views business and industry as a public affair and hence subject to publicity, the needs of the workers as human beings, and the needs of the people as a whole.

FACTORY MANAGEMENT. By HENRY POST DUTTON. The Macmillan Company, 1924, pp. vi+329.

In this volume the problems of factory management are grouped about a central "philosophy of control," with especial emphasis upon production and selling as the main functions of any factory. Service as an aim of industry is not stressed, the author, not unexpectedly, following a definite economic, rather than sociological approach to his subject. The inclusion of references for further investigation of each topic discussed and the presentation of specific problems for solution by the student increase the value of the volume as a textbook.

F. S. L.

A MERCHANT'S HORIZON. By A. LINCOLN FILENE. Houghton Mifflin Company, 1924, pp. 266.

The story is told here of an attempt, successful it would seem, "to transform a large business enterprise into an institution of the employees, for the employees, by the employees," and also for the consumers. The emphasis is put not merely upon profit-sharing, but particularly upon "management-sharing." The Filene Board of Directors has six employee members and five employer members. It is held that the main idea in business is not or should not be to make profits, but to make men and women. Those who scoff at democracy in industry will find in this book a splendid antidote.

E. S. B.

WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION. By E. H. DOWNEY. The Macmillan Company, 1924, pp. xxv+223.

At the time of his early death Dr. Downey had mastered the details and principles of workmen's compensation for industrial accidents as well as any one in the United States, according to R. T. Ely who writes the Introduction. The leading sub-topics are: social cost of industrial injuries, scope of workmen's compensation, the scale of workmen's compensation, administration of workmen's compensation, prevention of industrial injuries. Forty-five pages of annotated bibliography increase the value of this authentic book.

ICARUS, OR THE FUTURE OF SCIENCE. By BERTRAND RUSSELL. E. P. Dutton & Company, 1924, pp. 64.

The author holds that science does not make men kindlier but promotes the power of dominant groups, and hence is likely to be more dangerous than useful.

MOTHER AND SON. By C. GASQUOINE HARTLEY. Eveleigh Nash & Grayson, London, 1923, pp. viii+318.

This is a psychological study of character formation in children. By means of the psycho-analytic method the secret sources of character are explored in an attempt to help the adult understand the child. The great importance of the first years of the child's life is emphasized. The relationship of the child to the other members of the family is considered, and attention is directed to the domestic situations which obstruct the child's development and determine the life of the adult.

W. C. S.

LAW AND FREEDOM IN THE SCHOOL. By GEORGE A. COE. The University of Chicago Press, 1924, pp. ix+133.

This book contains what is probably the best available analysis of the project method as a technique of education. In the project is found all necessary compulsion and dynamic freedom. Through the cooperative project there develops the habit of "talking things over" and other fundamental phases of democracy. By the project the child learns to investigate, to develop self-control, and if it be a socialized project he acquires a large scale sense of justice and fair play. Through it all the main principles of both self and social efficiency may be learned.

E. S. B.

PRINCIPLES OF ADVERTISING. By DANIEL STARCH. A. W. Shaw Company, 1923, pp. vii+998.

In this voluminous treatise, the author has described the psychological theory and its applications of nearly every phase of advertising practice. Theory and experience are combined in splendid proportions. The illustrations and descriptions of successes and failures in advertising are well chosen. Parts III and IV on "Appeals" and "The Presentation of Appeals" are of special value to students of applied psychology. More attention to the social psychology of advertising would enhance the value of the book.

MY FORTY YEARS IN NEW YORK. By C. H. PARKHURST. The Macmillan Company, 1923, pp. xxiv+256.

This is a self-revelation of a minister who worked along conventional lines for several years but broke away and turned his attention to the corruption in his own city. Many of the experiences of early life are interesting because of their influence upon his later life.

W. C. S.

MEDICINE, MAGIC, AND RELIGION. By W. H. R. RIVERS. Harcourt, Brace & Company, 1924, pp. viii+147.

This book shows that there is no definite line of separation between primitive medicine, magic, and religion. The main object is to discover the nature of the concept of disease among those who fail to make this distinction. According to their beliefs, disease is in the main caused by (1) the action of human beings, or (2) supernatural agency. The diagnosis, then, consists in discovering the maleficent agent, and the treatment in using measures for thwarting his activities. Apart from this survey the book is of interest because the data are used to support the position of cultural diffusion as over against independent invention.

W. C. S.

TWO PORTUGUESE COMMUNITIES IN NEW ENGLAND. By DONALD R. TAFT. Columbia University, 1923, pp. 357.

In this scholarly monograph the author moves with true scientific caution, questioning his own conclusions at every step. He deals with backgrounds, distribution, infant mortality, home conditions, industrial conditions, in minute details. The only thing needed further is a full statement of the attitudes, opinions, and the underlying human experiences (out of which the attitudes and opinions have grown) of the Portuguese themselves.

E. S. B.

THE CHILD: HIS NATURE AND HIS NEEDS. Edited by M. V. O'SHEA. The Children's Foundation, 1924, pp. ix+516.

The contributors to this volume include Bird T. Baldwin, Frederick S. Bolton, E. A. Kirkpatrick, H. H. Goddard, W. R. P. Emerson, William Healy, W. S. Hall, and John J. Tigert. Five chapters are written by M. V. O'Shea. The book is a practical and popular survey for parents and teachers on the nature and training of children covering such topics as health and hygiene, moral and social traits, adolescent problems, and education.

THE STORY OF MY LIFE. By SIR HARRY H. JOHNSTON. Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1923, pp. 504.

This book is an interesting self-revelation of a many-sided personality. Scattered throughout the volume are many fragments of interest to the ethnologist, the most important of which are those on the Jews of Tunis and the Negroes of America.

W. C. S.

THE SOCIAL ORIGINS OF CHRISTIANITY. By SHIRLEY JACKSON CASE. University of Chicago Press, 1923, pp. vii+263.

The author does a splendid piece of historical and social psychological work in tracing the origins of Christianity as a *social movement*. He treats the origin and development of Christianity in the light of the attitudes and activities in the daily life of the persons and groups who constituted the membership of the early Christian movement. By shifting the analysis from the theological dogma basis of Christianity to the social movement basis the author gives a new and helpful understanding to Christianity. E. S. B.

AN HISTORICAL SURVEY OF JEWISH PHILANTHROPY. By EPHRAIM FRISCH. The Macmillan Company, 1924, pp. xi+196

This study extends "from earliest times to the nineteenth century." It is pointed out that the Hebrew prophets were the first persons anywhere to attack the problem of poverty at its roots; they appealed to the highest ethical motives. They found the basic causes of poverty in "economic maladjustment and injustice due to human greed." The treatment is historical, developmental, and scholarly throughout.

THE PRINCIPLES OF JOURNALISM. By CASPER S. YOST. D. Appleton & Company, 1924, pp. vii+170.

In this book a broad and wholesome attitude is taken toward journalism. The author points out the primacy of the desire for news, and that the newspaper developed in response to this desire. The problem of the newspaper is to create itself anew and different every day. Moreover, it must go before the bar of public judgment daily, supported it is true by a cumulative public confidence in it.

THE IRON MAN IN INDUSTRY. By ARTHUR POUND. The Atlantic Monthly Press, pp. xic+230.

The effects of automatic machinery upon the mind and attitudes of the worker is here portrayed skillfully. "Repetitive processes are dulling the human mind" (quoted from Hoover). Socially undirected, the effects of automatic machinery are repetitive processes that may push "the human race into a new slavery or stampede it into a new anarchy."

Periodical Notes

The Eight Hour Day in the United States. Progress in adoption of the eight-hour day in America has been largely a development of the last twelve years, but its extension has been due less to legislation than to the voluntary agreements made by workers and employers. Editorial, *Am. Labor Legislation Rev.*, June, 1924, 183-88.

Psychanalyse freudienne et sociologie. Psychoanalysis has aided sociology by helping to explain collective behavior insofar as it is due to sentiments, emotions, aversions, imagination, repression. Freudian psychoanalysis offers an explanation of the taboo elements and prohibitions in exogamy and totemism. G. L. Duprat, *Revue internationale de sociologie*, Mai-Juin, 1924, 262-78.

Les pouvoirs publics chez les sauvages. Public authority has expanded from a negation of such authority among the most primitive tribes (living in a state of anarchy with no authority being recognized except that of the family) up through village autonomy to tribal and phratry rule: this development throws light on the origin of the state and of government. Paul Descamps, *Revue internationale de sociologie*, Mai-Juin, 1924, 225-261.

The Present Status of the Labor Movement in Germany. Workers in Germany have lost the eight-hour day and are threatened by economic reactions since the war with necessity for making further concessions. The trade unions are considered the only foundation upon which a democracy can be built in Germany. Boris Stern, *Pol. Science Quarterly*, June, 1924, 193-307.

The Tomorrow of Civilization Under Universal Tuning Forks. If the races of the world, one hundred years from now, have inherited the reenforced nationalism of 1920, with antipathies that go with racial pride and ambition, how will it be possible for them to endure unless, meanwhile, they have adopted an universal constitution and a world court? Editorial, *Pan-American*, July, 1924, 358-59.

Social Movements in Latin America. The new labor movement in Latin American countries is revealed by innumerable strikes. Laborers are following their northern fellows in demanding new rights and privileges. Samuel G. Inman, *Pan-American*, July, 1924, 332-7.

Outdoor Recreation as a Factor in Child Welfare. There are no less than fifty desirable attributes including social, physical, mental, and emotional good-character traits, which may be influenced by or developed through play and exercise. The child may be democratized through democratization of his play. Ethel Perrin, *Playground*, July, 1924, 240-42, 246, 266.

Citizenship Value of Outdoor Recreation. To promote a safe and sane citizenry, we shall in the next thirty years legislate more for recreation than for industry, because the physical fitness and the moral strength of our people require it. Then we shall have a citizenry that will once again hold a wholesome respect for law. M. C. Brumbaugh, *Playground*, July, 1924, 227, 260.

The Individual and International Law. Governments are proper agencies for international intercourse and, as such, may accomplish much in advancing social welfare. But their ultimate justification for existence consists in the success with which they aid men in the pursuit of happiness, and in the perfection of human relations. Philip Marshall Brown, *Amer. Jour. Internat. Law*, July, 1924, 532-6.

Delinquents and Sex Education. Delinquents are persons out of social adjustment. Education for girls who are sex delinquents should consist of giving them a "body of knowledge, habits, and attitudes" which will enable them to become socially adjusted; a decent vocabulary; a new attitude toward sex pleasure; and a new ideal of sex conduct. Mary Wood Daley, *Jour. of Social Hygiene*, May, 1924, 278-83.

Le rôle de la logique dans la sociologie. Sociology is not an exact science, and the question of method is not a simple one. Observation is an important factor in the method. We, however, propose a radical change in point of view. The object of our science is to explain the behavior of men and to introduce instead of the primitive method of observation the penetrating method of analytical logic. M. Malgaud, *Revue de L'Institut de Sociologie*, September, 1924, 183-204.

The Public Mind and its Corrupters. The art of life is in striking a balance, giving everything its true value. The aim of modern "stunt" journalism is apparently to stand life on its head and throw stones at the effigy. G. R. Stirling Taylor, *Nineteenth Century*, July, 1924, 33-41.

Vice Repression in San Francisco. The volume of vice has been decreased at least seventy-five per cent by closing the segregated district. As the "old" generation engulfed in the traffic is supplanted by a new generation not steeped in vice, progress is made. Edwin E. Grant, *National Municipal Review*, May, 1924, 264-269.

Life in London Suburbs Today. "Leave us alone" seems to be the slogan of the new suburbia. It is a lively assertion of individuality. But it respects individuality in others. It seeks to avoid the spirit of "the crowd," the spirit that accepts uniformity in houses, furniture, etc. C. Clephan Palmer, *Nineteenth Century*, July, 1924, 81-84.

The League of Nations: A Process. The League of Nations is a process in that it is a group of symbols, each symbol representing an idea in the mind of a social group. As a clearing house of ideas it is a process by which the peoples of the world are brought closer together socially and spiritually. Adolfo Posada, *Internat. Jour. of Ethics*, July, 1924, 351-56.

The Problem Child. Increasing interest is being shown the "problem child" as a challenge to psychiatry, psychology, and sociology. This article presents scientific findings in case studies of five hundred school children who were considered problems either at school or at home. Education is again the solution. Phyllis Blanchard and Richard H. Paynter, *Mental Hygiene*, 1924, pp. 26-54.

The Future of Our Race. To ensure endowment of future generations with natural propensities superior to those of the present generation, certain restrictions, based on eugenic principles, are necessary. To secure these restrictions, an eugenic program must be made a matter of patriotic loyalty, just as we exercise patriotism in the sacrifices of war. Leonard Darwin, *Eugenics Rev.*, July, 1924, 93-104.

Leaders and Led. To secure real representation the will of the people must be made known to the political leaders. Representatives of the people, as over against representatives of party only, must be demanded. William E. Hocking, *Yale Rev.*, July, 1924, 625-41.

The Cure for Crime. In emotional tests and in the segregation of defectives, society has in its possession the means to control the continuance of crime. The outstanding criminal families could be eradicated in one generation. French Strother, *World's Work*, Aug., 1924.

Patriotism and Peace. It does not seem probable that one should confidently expect permanent peace until modern patriotisms have waned and have been transmuted into a similar and equally intense emotional attachment to the symbols of internationalism. Frank H. Hankins, *Jour. of Internat. Relations*, April, 1922, 505-23.

This Business of Dancing. The dance has been transformed from a community art-form to a highly competitive enterprise. The dance hall seems to furnish a limited opportunity for erotic stimulation; it encourages an illusion of social prestige; it is an avenue of random acquaintances. Maria Ward Lambdin, *Survey*, July 15, 1924, 457-61.

Social Hygiene and Social Progress. Is the field of social hygiene clearly defined or has the time come to include such problems as feeble-mindedness, illegitimacy, birth control, marriage and divorce, in the range of interest and activity of this group of social workers? Donald B. Hooker, *Journal of Social Hygiene*, January, 1924, 20-25.

The Case for Industrial Dualism. By advancing slowly along the path of public ownership, it may be possible to increase the relative size, and decrease the relative power, of the capitalistic class, without abandoning either democracy or private ownership. Edward Alsworth Ross, *Quar. Jour. of Econ.*, May, 1924, 384-96.

Gregariousness Considered as a Common Habit. Gregariousness operates irregularly. It is not a native tendency. No evidence for its inherited character is found in Child Psychology. The psychology of habit is adequate to explain all of our social behavior. Hulsey Carson, *Jour. of Abnormal Psychology and Social Psychology*, April-June, 1924, 96-105.

Pamphlet Notes

SOCIAL MINISTRY IN AN AMERICAN CITY. By T. EARL SULLENGER. University of Omaha Bulletin, Vol I, No. 1, Omaha, 1923, pp. 14.

This study presents a recreational survey of the organized churches of Omaha, with interesting results and conclusions. Of the 161 churches of that city, only 72, or 44.7 per cent, have any form of definitely organized recreation for the youth of their memberships, thus neglecting "the desire for play as a force in moral and spiritual development."

A SURVEY OF THE CAUSE AND EXTENT OF CRIME AMONG FOREIGNERS IN OMAHA. By BEATRICE HARVEY. University of Omaha Bulletin, Vol. I, No. 2, Omaha, 1924, pp. 12.

Although the foreign born furnish 18.4 per cent of the total population of Omaha, they provided but 7.2 per cent of the arrests for the year 1922. However, 19.7 per cent of convicted felonies were committed by immigrants, and 17.76 per cent by South Europeans alone. Most of these criminals came from segregated foreign communities with little contacts with the best in American life.

WOMEN IN ALABAMA INDUSTRIES. Bulletin of the Women's Bureau, No. 34, U. S. Department of Labor, Washington, 1924, pp. 56.

Alabama is the eleventh state to be surveyed by the Women's Bureau as to industrial standards for its women workers. The comparatively recent development of industry in Alabama brings consequent lack as yet of proper legislation affecting hours, wages, and working conditions. Over one-half of the wage earners of the state work 60 hours and over per week; \$8.80 is a median for women's weekly wages.

RADIO TALKS ON WOMEN IN INDUSTRY. Bulletin of the Women's Bureau, No. 36, U. S. Department of Labor, Washington, 1924, pp. 34.

This pamphlet offers various articles on conditions surrounding women in industry. They were originally broadcasted over the radio, and therefore are written in popular style; however they give needed and educational presentation of such topics as Women's Wages, Hours of Work, Budgets, Married Women in Industry, etc.

Social Work Notes

AN INTERNATIONAL Conference of Social Work as a regular institution is beginning to develop. Although the problems of social work in the various countries of the world are apparently more alike than different, a regular interchange of experiences between the social workers is still largely a matter of the future.

SOCIAL WORK is slowly but surely attaining a professional status. The American Association of Social Workers and the Association of Training Schools of Social Work are making progress in raising the standards of social work. A college education and one year of post-graduate training is being viewed as a minimum standard of preparation.

THE COMMUNITY CHEST, although still in an experimental stage, is apparently theoretically sound. It is subject however to a multitude of weaknesses. Its chief asset is the new and enlarged spirit of community consciousness which it engenders when broadmindedly conducted. It lifts gives out of an institutional denominationalism that is often blind or narrow visioned.

SOCIAL CASE work is undergoing a revolution. The formal type is passing or being subordinated to a new approach which makes the personal experiences and the life history of the client when told in a full, free, confessional, and confidential manner the main center of interest. Hence, the importance of interviewing is greatly increased. While each client is different from every other, yet all are alike in fundamentals; thus, interviewing may develop a scientific technique.

PSYCHIATRY is achieving a large place in the training of social workers. The feelings, emotions, sentiments, attitudes, the repressions and the aversions of a client are as important perhaps as the client's economic circumstances or his intellectual nature. The necessity of unravelling these, of making them objective and understandable, and of getting the client emotionally adjusted explains the increasing importance that is being attached to psychiatry in social work.

Round Table Notes

WE HAVE reached a stage when the ignorance of the citizen is a menace and his apathy a crime. Brown, *The Underlying Principles of Modern Legislation*, p. 318.

SOCIAL development, then, rests not on the element of constraint in social life, but on the element of cooperation resting on mutual need. Hobhouse, *Social Development*, p. 87.

THE PROBABILITIES against two communities having independently come to elaborate a culture that possesses, say, pottery-making, weaving, and agriculture are so tremendous that it can be assumed with confidence that this has never taken place. Perry, *The Growth of Civilization*, p. 2.

EVEN his most ardent admirers will scarcely claim that President Wilson has been infallible, either as an academic thinker or as a statesman; yet after he is dead his most violent enemies will be found admitting that his academic thinking injected a force into American and world-politics which may prove to have raised the moral level of both. Small, *Origins of Sociology*, p. 33.

THE WORLD almost against its will has become one vast society in which all communities are members one of another, seeing that any one of them may be vitally affected by that which is most remote, but it has neither the spirit of unity, nor the clear sense of common interest, nor an adequate mechanism which might at least maintain the externals of orderly peace. Hobhouse, *Social Development*, p. 30.

WILL THESE judgments (about MacDonald) apply as well a year or two hence? One puts the question fearfully because one never knows what will be the effect upon any character of holding high office and of wielding tremendous authority over millions of one's fellow citizens. All too often it means a change of principles, a loss in character, a drift toward arrogance, and the abuse of power. Iconoclast, *J. Ramsay MacDonald*, p. xi.